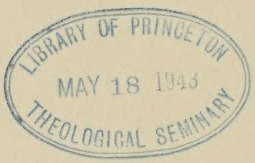

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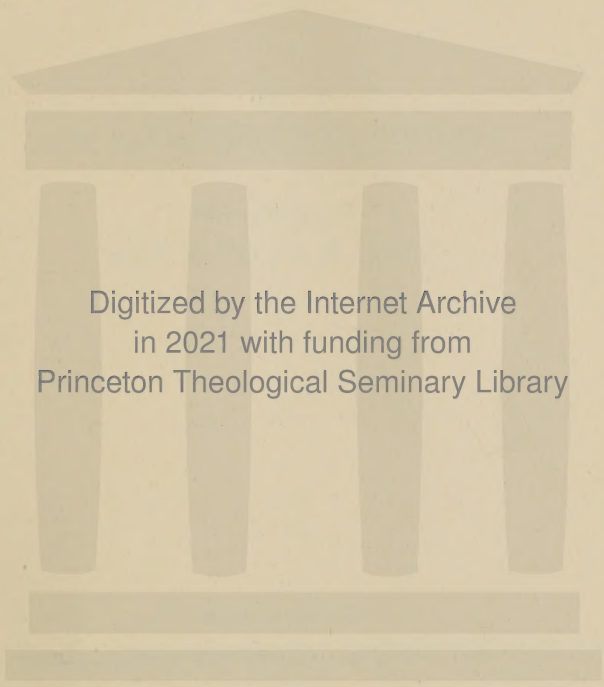
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The Everyday Work of the Westminster Assembly

By

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With a Foreword by

THOS. C. PEARS, JR., L.H.D.

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DEDICATED

TO THE

HONOURED MEMORY

OF THE

WESTMINSTER DIVINES

WHO WERE ALSO VERY HUMAN

FOREWORD

THIS is an important work; by all odds the most important on the Westminster Assembly since the publication of the Baird Lectures by Alexander F. Mitchell in 1882. The author has chosen a field which has received scant attention from scholars, the *everyday work* of the Divines. The nature and variety of the demands made upon their time and attention, the difficulties they were called upon to encounter in the fulfillment of their prescribed tasks, and the multifarious activities in which they found themselves engaged continuously for nearly six years (1643–1649), are indicated in the Table of Contents; which includes many matters passed over almost entirely by previous writers, with the result that they have failed largely to appreciate the fact that the members of this historic Synod were *very human* as well as being very eminent divines.

The following pages are the result of the author's ripe scholarship, and of his painstaking researches over a period of five years, in the course of which he has consulted a wide variety of sources not easily accessible to the average reader. Indeed, as he remarked in a letter to the writer of this foreword: his father, who was likewise a distinguished scholar, "taught him to cast his net wide in historical research."

Since he has limited himself so strictly to his purpose of filling the chief *lacuna* in the literature of the Assembly, it may not be out of place to review briefly the main outline of its history.

The ordinance calling the Assembly was passed by the Lords and Commons, June 12, 1643. Their avowed purpose was to establish a form of church government "most agreeable to God's holy word, and most apt to procure and preserve the peace of the Church at home, and nearer agreement with the Church of Scotland, and other Reformed Churches abroad." To this end it was "thought fit and necessary to call an Assembly of learned, godly and judicious Divines, who, together with some members of both Houses of Parliament, were to consult and advise of such matters and things." One hundred and fifty-one names were contained in the summons; ten from the House of Lords, twenty from the House of Commons, and one hundred and twenty-one divines. The first meeting was to be held in King Henry VII's Chapel, Westminster Abbey, July 1, 1643.

In order to secure the assistance of the neighboring kingdom on the north in their struggle against the King, the Parliament dispatched a commission to Scotland. The negotiations which followed resulted in

the drawing up of a Solemn League and Covenant to be subscribed by both nations; and in the sending of a delegation of commissioners to the Assembly at Westminster by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.

The Assembly was divided into three parties: the Presbyterians, who composed by far the largest number; the Independents, a small group of outstanding ability; and the Erastians, who held that it was the prerogative of the state to establish such a form of church government as might be most expedient. The Scottish commissioners, consisting of four ministers and two elders, acted as an independent group, and exercised a most powerful influence throughout the proceedings.

The first task of the Assembly was the revision of the *Thirty-nine Articles;* but after having proceeded as far as the Fifteenth Article, they were instructed to set themselves to the task of draughting an entirely new Confession of Faith.

In the course of their sessions, extending over six years, they prepared and presented to the Parliament the five documents known as the *Confession of Faith,* the *Larger* and *Shorter Catechisms,* the *Form of Government,* and the *Directory for the Worship of God.* This was their most lasting work; for, although they were never adopted by Parliament in their full form, they were adopted by the Church of Scotland, and hence were destined to become the basis of the constitution of all the Presbyterian Churches of the British Isles, of the United States of America, and of the British colonies throughout the world.

One of the principal tasks of the Assembly was the examination and approbation of ministers to serve in the parishes which had become vacant because of the sequestration of ministers consequent upon the dissolution of the hierarchy. This responsibility not only occupied much of their time, but extended throughout their entire existence as a deliberative body, and was continued through a committee after the Assembly itself had ceased to exist as such.

It is against this background that the present study is to be viewed, and its value estimated.

The author, Dr. S. W. Carruthers, is eminently fitted for his task. He is the greatest living authority on the text of the Confession of Faith, having served his apprenticeship in this field under the direction of his father, the late Dr. William Carruthers. In 1937, he published an account of the preparation and printing of the seven leading editions of the Westminster Confession of Faith, together with a critical text of the Confession.

Dr. Carruthers is a physician by profession and a ruling elder in the Presbyterian Church of England. Having retired from active practice several years ago, upon the outbreak of the War, he was drafted by his Church for an important assignment. In March, 1940, he was asked to take charge of a congregation in Brighton, whose minister had accepted a commission as chaplain in the armed forces. Here he served for fifteen months, when he was placed in charge of two congregations in Southampton. Upon the completion of this important service, finding himself free at length to complete the present text, he humbly acknowledged the "remarkable privilege and responsibility" that were his, to be enabled "to tackle a new job in my seventy-fifth year."

In the ordinary course of events, this book would have been published in England. This was rendered impossible by reason of the paper shortage; and the Department of History of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, fearful lest it might never appear in print, cabled to England that means would be found somehow to secure its publication on this side of the Atlantic. As time was of the essence, it brought a distinct thrill to learn that the text had arrived in the Diplomatic Pouch through the courtesy of the British Foreign Office.

Finally, a word remains to be said about the timeliness of its publication. The present year, 1943, marks the tercentenary of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, and its celebration by all the great Presbyterian bodies throughout the English-speaking world. Surely no event could be more timely, when the need to re-examine the basic principles of our common heritage of civil and religious liberty is so universally acknowledged. It is, indeed, a happy consummation, in the present juncture of world affairs, that such a work should be published jointly by the Presbyterian Historical Society (of America) and the Presbyterian Historical Society of England.

THOS. C. PEARS, JR.

Philadelphia,
March 1, 1943

PREFACE

As the tercentenary of the Westminster Assembly drew nigh, it seemed that there was but one aspect of its work which had not been adequately dealt with. Its tremendous and invaluable activities in the matter of doctrine, government, and worship had been treated again and again by masters of their subjects. A humbler task, within the reach of one who was not an expert, seemed to await fulfilment, namely the telling in connected fashion the many daily occupations, some of great importance at the time, though not of so lasting value, which filled a large part of the time of the Divines, and which tested and manifested their practical wisdom, as well as their limitations and failings.

This book is the result. It tells, largely in the language of the official minutes, and in that of contemporaries, such as Lightfoot and Baillie, the lesser activities of the Assembly. Comment has been kept down, only such being added as was needed to bring out the significance of the actions.

Dates have been given throughout, with almost unpleasing iteration. They are often important; and their inclusion has made it possible to dispense with cumbrous references to the actual authority, save in the case of Baillie, whose letters do not easily indicate the dates of the events to which he refers. The other quotations will be found in the minutes, in Lightfoot, and in Gillespie, under the respective dates; and the items in these various records have been combined to supplement each other and complete the story.

I have to express my indebtedness to Mr. S. K. Jones, M.A. (and to his assistent Miss Elliott) at the Dr. Williams Library; also to the Rev. A. Mitchell Hunter, M.A., D.Litt. (and to his assistant Miss E. R. Leslie, M.A., B.Com.) at the New College Library, Edinburgh. Most of the work has been done in these two libraries, and its performance has been made easy and enjoyable by their thoughtful courtesy and their generous granting of facilities.

To J. D. Ogilvie, Esq., of Barloch, Milngavie, I owe much thanks. He read the book in its earlier draft, and out of his rich collection of pamphlets, and his immense knowledge of the men and events of the time, he lavishly supplied me with items and hints which have greatly enriched the final form of the work.

War conditions, having made it impossible for the author to correct the proofs, warm thanks are given to the Rev. T. C. Pears, Jr., and

Guy S. Klett, of the Presbyterian Historical Society (of America), for their carrying out of this necessary task.

One omission I greatly regret. Owing to war conditions I have not had access to the Thomason Tracts at the British Museum. I had hoped to have added to the interest of the story by including some contemporary comments on the work of the Assembly by friend and foe. This material, however, along with the numerous satires and lampoons aimed at the Divines, may yet form the basis of a special book, by myself or some later worker.

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

The literature of the Westminster Assembly is multitudinous. The extraordinary theological ability and acumen of the divines as shewn in the Confession and Catechisms, their somewhat austere yet not cold ideal of worship seen in the Directory, and their logically complete and closely articulated system of ecclesiastical rule contained in the Form of Church Government, have all had due, though not undue, tribute paid to them again and again. Yet this was not the whole of their work; and their other functions brought them into closer touch with some of the stirring events of the times, and certainly gave full scope for the display of sagacity and character.

Their chief other activity, the one which survived after these great tasks had been accomplished, was the sifting of the character of the men appointed to the cure of souls in the parishes of England. That must undoubtedly have had a strong effect upon the religious life of the country for a whole generation; but it can only be studied in the form of lists of names and personal histories, and could not be related in readable form; it had therefore to be excluded from the scope of this work, save that the general principles on which they worked and examples of the exceptional difficulties which from time to time confronted them are related in two of the chapters. A small sample of the kind of investigation which might be carried out in regard to the parish ministers is seen in the list of men approved during a short period for fellowships in the Cambridge colleges.

The Independents had been, I believed, somewhat hardly treated by their fellow members and by subsequent writers. While certainly deprecating the strength of language sometimes used by Lightfoot and Baillie, one does find on perusal of the minutes that they had suffered considerable provocation. So small a minority had but two possible courses, to efface themselves, or to obstruct. They were men of stronger convictions and more force of character than to adopt the first. They had a somewhat larger constituency, in proportion, outside the Assembly than in it, and had especially several determined friends in Parliament. They were in the difficult position of needing to obtain toleration for themselves, and yet denying it to the large crop of sectaries with extravagant and even licentious practices which sprang up in the unfortunate interval (for which the Independents themselves were largely

responsible) between the abolition of episcopal government and the erection of something in its stead. Their only hope was in obstruction, and one cannot be too hard on them for adopting it. But the ensuing record of proceedings shews that, once having adopted it, they determined to do it well and thoroughly. Again and again they succeeded in avoiding a definite decision; they were never, apparently, in any hurry to formulate their own case for discussion, and their criticism was destructive rather than constructive. It is, of course, fair to recognise that, with their views as to the purely atomic structure of the church, it was hard for them to produce anything constructive upon national lines. Nye will be seen to be the shrewdest and most active in this form of tactics as was recognized by both Lightfoot and Baillie, but Goodwin also used them.

The idea of a sort of Protestant General Council has been mooted, and the earlier projects for the Assembly leaned in this direction. So it is not surprising to find how much the foreign churches come into the picture. In the Solemn League and Covenant, the "best Reformed Churches" are mentioned, as well as the Church of Scotland, as models in so far as they themselves conform to the word of God. The Covenant itself went through five editions in Latin, four in Dutch, and one in French. The Divines were most anxious that the Continental theologians should use their pens in support of presbytery, and against Arminian doctrine. Baillie's letters to Spang are full of entreaties to set these men to work, and sometimes of disappointment that their work was not strongly enough phrased. Parliament both used the Assembly, and also curbed it, in communicating with these Continental Reformed Churches.

The relation between Parliament and the Assembly is well known, in its general outline; but the minutes give illuminative details. No English Parliament could be aught but Erastian; no Puritan Assembly, even without the strong backbone which the Scots supplied, could waive the right of the Church of Christ to govern itself. It was not till nigh three hundred years had passed that in Scotland the problem of a free national church was solved; in England the solution is yet to find. The factor which frustrated the Assembly, that it was the creation of Parliament, still dominates the English situation; the Scottish solution was made possible by the fact that the church in that land was not the creature of the state, though it obtained state recognition.

The procedure of the Assembly has had occasional notices in such workes as Hetherington's, and especially in Mitchell's Baird Lectures;

but there are in the minutes and the contemporary accounts many details of human interest which form a more complete picture of the difficulties; and difficulties must always arise in greater number in a body which has no accumulated precedents to guide it. It is plain that this Assembly, like any consultative body, contained at least three groups of men, the business-like, typified by Burges, the diffuse, by Goodwin, and the inert, by the majority.

No estimate of the character of individuals at any length has been attempted; they are left to "speak for themselves"; but their variety of disposition and practical ability is very manifest. The relation of the Assembly's activities has been made very full, not merely for the sake of completeness, but also because in this way the individual characters of the members and the bristling difficulties with which they were confronted are more fully revealed; and the reader is left to judge for himself, in most instances, from the fullest available materials of the men and their work.

The demise of the Assembly was mute and inglorious. The exact date does not seem to have been previously noted. Hetherington (p. 315), speaking of the temporary end of the Long Parliament, says, "and at the same moment terminated the Westminster Assembly." Mitchell and Struthers (*Minutes, Introduction,* p. vii) speak of the minutes up to 25 March, 1652, as containing the names of "the persons examined and approved by the Assembly," and that date is sometimes given as the end of the Assembly. Mitchell himself (p. 443) comes rather nearer the actual facts when he says that from 22 February, 1648–9, "they met chiefly as a committee for the examination of presentees to benefices and of candidates for licence till 25 March, 1652." As a matter of fact no action other than that of approval of ministers is recorded after 20 September, 1648, but it was the Assembly that met. The fact that the sessions ceased to be numbered does not indicate the finish of the Assembly; the minutes continue to refer to it as the Assembly (e.g., 4 May, 1649) and a sederunt of 30, including such well known names as Gouge, Sedgwick, Prophet, Temple, Whitaker, Case, etc., was recorded on 29 June, 1649.

But upon 26 October, 1649, "An order was read from the Committee of Plundered Ministers for those that have subscribed the Engagement to be a committee to examine ministers." And so the one remaining activity of the Assembly was transferred to a committe, named, not by it, but by Parliament through one of its committees. The

last function which Parliament had assigned to it was taken from it, and on that day it died of sheer inanition.

The minutes thereafter contain no reference to the "Assembly," only to the "Committee," though they go on continuously. Only two sederunts occur thereafter: eight members on that lethal 26 October, and five on the following 24 January. Bond, Carter Senr., Carter Junr., Caryl, Corbet, de la March, Dury, Nye, and Raynor are the names; one finds Johnson, Lightfoot, Simpson, and Sterry asked to report upon cases, so they presumably sat. How long did this committee function? There are no records after 25 March, 1652. Mitchell (p. 443) suggests that "they were continued till the dismissal of the Long Parliament by Cromwell in the following year." But there seems no reason to suppose that they ceased this necessary work until two years later, upon the appointment of the "Triers" on 20 March, 1653–4, to do the same work.

The writer has risen from his studies with a greater esteem for the men, and a wider understanding of the part which they played in the history of those strenuous years; and he hopes that a perusal of the following chapters may have a similar effect on the readers.

Chapter II

RELATIONS WITH PARLIAMENT

The Assembly was the creature of the Parliament; this subordination, and its very limited functions, were duly set forth in the ordinance calling it, "to consult and advise of such matters and things . . . as shall be proposed unto them by both or either of the Houses of Parliament." Later on this is repeated, with the emphatic addition, "and no other." In the mss. belonging to the Earl of Northumberland there is a paper naming points to be considered about an Assembly of Divines (*Hist. Mss. Comm. Rept.,* III, p. 86). Its conjectural date is given as September, 1643, but this is evidently wrong. It says that it were fit that a proviso were added to the ordinance to the effect that neither the Assembly nor any member of it should exercise or claim any manner of jurisdiction. The Earl was convener of the committee of the House of Lords which introduced this very amendment on 5 June, 1643. It provided against any possible attempt of the Assembly to act as if it were Convocation, or in any sense a "court of the Church."

At its first session, having had no business stated for them, the Assembly adjourned, after roll-call, for four days; then they received certain rules of procedure prescribed for them by both Houses, which are described elsewhere. Though the immense majority of the Divines were anti-Erastian, they never forgot by whose authority the Assembly existed; and had they ever been unmindful of the fact, they would have been sternly reminded. The close relation between the two bodies appears again and again in considering every part of their work, and is particularly noticeable in their relations with the Church of Scotland and with the Continental Churches, but it is convenient to consider certain points separately.

The presence of the parliamentary members (originally suggested by the Lords) proved a very useful means of both formal and informal communication in each direction. Featley, after he left the Assembly, objected to it because it had not "any decisive, but only consultative and deliberative suffrages" (*Sacra Nemesis,* p. 5). Baillie (ii, 186) says, "this is no proper Assembly, but a meeting called by the Parliament to advise them in what things they are asked." He even hints that the freedom of individuals was hampered by their membership of Assembly; the Continental divines must not expect to be invited to write, either by the Assembly, "or any member of it"; "it is far above

their power to do this, and if they essayed it, they would soon be taken up by the Parliament" (ii, 202). In addressing the General Assembly in August, 1647, Gillespie said that the Divines desired "to make their excuse for their not giving answer to divers letters"; they "were loth to interrupt the Parliament, whose warrant they behoved to procure, the Parliament being now otherways most seriously employed" (*Baillie,* iii, 454). Repeatedly, though sometimes unwillingly, the course of their business was readjusted so as to comply with an order from the Commons. The most striking and important instance of the complete subordination of the Assembly to Parliament is the modification of the Confession of Faith made by the Houses before sanctioning it to replace the Thirty-nine Articles. Baillie had a shrewd fear of this; when he records its completion, he says (ii, 397) that it will be "much better than any confession yet extant, if the House of Commons mangle it not to us."

The Commons, which, even by the time when the Assembly met, had become decidedly the more important House, held the Divines, however, in high esteem, and often asked their help. On 9 August, 1643, they instructed them to send some London ministers "up and down the kingdom to stir up the people in their cause"; names were submitted by the Assembly on the 14th, but Lightfoot does not record them.

At once upon the receipt of the Solemn League and Covenant (26 August, 1643) it was referred to the Assembly by the Commons, "to consider of it, and of the lawfulness of taking of it, and entering into it, in point of conscience, and to certify their opinions herein with all convenient speed." (*Mercurius Aulicus,* the royalist news-letter, comments specially on the fact that the Covenant "received approbation first of our English Levites, and was afterwards voted in the pretended Parliament.") The reference caused considerable debate, and the Divines recommended some explanations with which, they reported on 31 August, that they "judge it to be lawful in point of conscience to be taken." After the Scots Commissioners arrived on 8 September, there was a conference in which they, the Commons, the Lords, and nine of the Divines took part. Agreement as to details having been reached by the 14th, the Commons once more wanted their consciences reassured by the Assembly as to the altered form of the document. The Assembly gave a favourable report, and were asked by the Commons "to set forth in a declaration the grounds" of their endorsement of the Covenant. There is no trace of this document, unless the "exhortation" of 5 February, 1643–4, may be considered to contain them.

On 5 October, the Commons asked that some Divines should speak at the Common Hall in the City the next day, saying that the Scottish treaty referred "as much to the religion as to the safety of the kingdom." Apparently Sedgwick, Calamy, and Burges were appointed to speak, but in accordance with a suggestion from the Commons the whole Assembly attended "to give countenance to it." Again on 20 October they were asked to join with the two Houses in treating with the Scottish Commissioners, and accordingly appointed a committee of twelve.

On 26 January, 1643–4, the Lords sent a message asking the Assembly to hold a special session the next day, a Saturday, on which day they did not usually sit. Lord Wharton came to the meeting, and reported a letter from one Olge, a prisoner in Winchester House, to the Earl of Bristol, suggesting a coalition between "the moderate Protestant" (*i.e.,* the Episcopalian) "and the fiery Independent" to "withstand the Presbyterian," by bringing forward certain definite proposals of a moderate kind. Baillie says (ii, 137) that in Oxford Olge had inveighed against "the tyranny of our Presbytery, equal to the Spanish Inquisition." Lord Wharton gave a long account of all the complications, for which the prolocutor thanked him; and Goodwin and Nye, who had been acting with Lord Wharton in the matter, spoke before the adjournment. Apparently this was merely for information, and no official action by the Assembly was desired.

On 23 February, the Commons instructed the Assembly to write a letter to the ministers of London, "for the encouragement of subscriptions for the raising and maintaining of Sir Thomas Middleton's forces" in North Wales. In order to secure rapid drafting, this was referred to a committee of two,—Herle and Ley.

The Divines, in their turn, on suitable occasions approached Parliament, asking for action. On 19 July, 1643, they sent a petition to the Commons in regard to Lord's Day observance, and the House thereupon appointed a committee with power to take action. On 17 October, Dr. Smith asked "that we may move the Honourable Houses that the Covenant may be sent out into the counties, that we may have the hearts of the people," and again on 18 December they returned to this question.

The rise of the Sectaries led them (8 November, 1643) "to acquaint the House of Commons with the liberty that many take in the City and other places in gathering of churches at this time, to anticipate the work of the Parliament and Assembly"; and a few days later, on the 13th, they sent a committee to "present to Parliament the reports, gathered and gathering, that go concerning the Assembly to the prejudice thereof, the

multitude of churches gathered in the City and country, and disorders thereupon, and concerning the speedy providing for the comfortable subsistence of the ministry by quickening the business and other duties concerning ecclesiastical dues."

The Assembly had even to ask leave (24 November, 1643) for so small a matter as "an amanuensis to be assistant to the scribes," doubtless because this involved financial expenditure. The Commons, on 18 December, appointed John Wallis. On the other hand the Commons, when they wanted Bridge to have leave to go to Yarmouth (23 August, 1643), asked Rous "to move the Assembly herein," evidently not willing to give such leave without the concurrence of the Divines.

The whole question of the relation between the two bodies reached a climax, in which the careful but astute position taken by the Divines secured a victory, in connection with the temporary provision for ordination, and is related in the chapter on the Supply of Ministers. As Baillie wrote (ii, 205) on 12 July, 1644, "In our last debate with the committee of Commons for our paper of ordination we were in the midst, over head and ears, of that greatest of our questions, the power of the Parliament in ecclesiastic affairs. It's like this question shall be hotter here than anywhere else; but we mind to hold off, for yet it is very unseasonable." As is told elsewhere, they were not able to "hold off."

Difficulties were not at an end: Two months later (13 September, 1644) the Commons ordered "that the committee of Lords and Commons appointed to treat with the Commissioners of Scotland and the committee of the Assembly do take into consideration the differences in opinion of the members of the Assembly in point of church government." It was also told to try and secure some toleration "that so the proceedings of the Assembly may not be so much retarded." Baillie (ii, 230) evidently considered this as an astute move by the Independents. "While Cromwell is here the House of Commons, without the least advertisement to any of us or of the Assembly" passed the said order. In October he says (ii, 232), "At first the motion did much perplex us, but after some debates upon it we are now hopeful to make vantage of it for the truth, against the errors of that very wilful and obstinate party." The main question does not concern us here but elsewhere; but the form of the resolution caused further difference of opinion as to the relation to Parliament.

The precise position of the Assembly and of the Scots Commissioners in this composite committee became a matter of importance. Were

they merely members, as individuals, in a hopeless minority in a large committee, or were they co-ordinate with it? The point did not come to a head at once, but the earlier stages of it are to be gathered from Baillie (ii, 235–237). At a meeting of the Grand Committee, Marshall secured the appointment of seven, including the two Independents, Goodwin and Nye. No Scots were put upon it; and the strong English Presbyterians on that account would not join. When the sub-committee reported, Lord Saye and Sele, Lord Wharton, Sir Harry Vane, and Oliver St. John "pressed vehemently to debate the propositions of the sub-committee. They knew," continues Baillie, "when we had debated and come to voicing they could carry all by plurality in the committee; and though they should not, yet they were confident when the report came to the House of Commons to get all they desired there passed. So, without the Assembly, they purposed immediately from this committee to get a toleration of Independency concluded in the House of Commons." But Rous, Tate, and Prideaux, "among the ablest of the House of Commons, opposed them to their face." Five Scottish Commissioners spoke frankly and strongly, and refused to consider the report save upon two conditions. The first is the important one in this connection, namely "That no report should be made of any conclusion of the committee till first it came to the Assembly, and from them, after examination, should be transmitted to the House of Commons."

Accordingly the correct method of procedure was discussed in the Assembly on 15 October, 1644. Palmer said that no report was necessary to their own members; a written report should be sent to the Committee of Lords and Commons, and that without reasons, for they had not been asked for any. Herle was seriously troubled; this was in effect a "denial of those members of Assembly to be members of that committee; for if they be members, they must be joined with them, and vote with them; to divide the committee is to destroy the committee. I desire," he said, "that no further notice be taken of this, lest it be thought that we counsel how to destroy that committee." Palmer at once replied, "I have spoken nothing to destroy that committee"; he contended that the Assembly had given these members no authority to vote on its behalf. Marshall said that they would be answered if they asked what authority the parliament committee had to send the report, and added, "You may debate it if you please, but I conceive that you were better to waive it." Reynolds said that the Assembly members would not take upon themselves to require a statement from the As-

sembly; it was the Lords and Commons that did this. And then by the small majority of 16 to 13, the order was read.

Palmer then contended that "there is a distinct number of persons, and the Lords and Commons a distinct committee." Nye said "That will make it three committees, not one. Those members, being in one body, they are no more members of this Assembly in that respect, no more than if they were ministers of London, or otherwise"; a rather sophistical argument, seeing that they had been added precisely because they were members of Assembly. Burges replied, "True they might have chosen any other members" (not, any other ministers), "but even so these that are chosen are still to be looked upon as members of Assembly, and they have the duty of members." Rutherford pointed out that the members of Assembly who had been present at the debate needed no information; it was for the Lords and Commons, who had not been present. Herle said that the request was from the whole committee, so the information should go to the whole committee. Seaman raised a new point; the first appointment of this committee of Divines was to receive papers from the Scots Commissioners; had they returned any answer to them? In reply to which Gillespie said that this request did not come in any way from the Scots. Marshall (one can almost hear a plaintive tone) said, "I know not whither this debate doth tend," and stated that there was nothing which the committee would not be willing to debate with the Divines, a suggestion which had no very direct bearing on the difficulty. Young reminded them that at the beginning "it was pleased, the Lords and Commons and Assembly, each by themselves." Whether this referred to debating, voting, or reporting is not stated, but it evidently supported the "three committees" view. Goodwin stated that "in things to be returned to the House, those of the House of Commons are to do it, and to vote apart; but in things in debate among yourselves. . . ." It may be that the end of the sentence (as often occurs) is not recorded; but it may be that the sentence was not concluded, for Seaman remarked, "There is nothing in debate in that committee but is to be sent to the Houses," and he did not think that the members of the Houses would "think themselves always concluded by our vote." Goodwin resumed the discussion, and in one of the queer lacunae which sometimes occur in the minutes, the last entry is "Debate about Mr. Goodwin's speaking too long; called to order"; and there is no record of the result of this important debate.

The influence of the Assembly with Parliament varied from time to time, finally waning as the army influence increased. But it was strong,

though one must take with a pinch of salt the statement in June 1645 (*A Sacred Decretall,* p. 6), that the two Houses are made "but a stalking horse to the designs of the clergy. They say 'It is decreed and ordained by the Lords and Commons, etc.,' but in plain English it is by the Assembly of Divines. It is true it is the Lords and Commons in the history, but the Assembly of Divines in the mystery."

The most critical period of all in the relations between the Assembly and Parliament was after the ordinance of 14 March, 1645–6, which dealt with the exclusion of scandalous offenders from the Lord's Supper. This, by very elaborate provisions including a body of parliamentary commissioners in every county, placed the final decision in doubtful cases in the hand of Parliament. So on 20 March, Marshall said that "there were some things in that Ordinance which did lie very heavy upon his conscience and the consciences of many of his brethren; though he did bless God for the zeal in the two Houses, expressed in settling of church government, yet being much pressed in heart with some things passed in that Ordinance, that the Assembly should consider what is fit to be done in this business." So he, with Vines, Seamen, and Newcomen were appointed to draft a petition to Parliament. This was done forthwith, submitted to the same session, and after a few alterations, was approved. It was resolved that Marshall, attended by the whole Assembly, should present it.

The petition, after gratefully acknowledging the great work that Parliament had done "by laying the foundations and beginnings of a positive reformation," explained that "nothing but conscience of our duty to God" could excuse them "in any seeming backwardness" to act according to the ordinance. But there were many offences not in the parliamentary list which yet ought to debar men from the Lord's Table, and as to these offences the ordinance "giveth a power to judge of the fitness of persons to come to the sacrament unto such as our Lord Christ hath not given that power unto; and also layeth upon us a necessity of admitting some scandalous persons to the sacrament, even after a conviction before the eldership." And then followed the clear statement, "We dare not practise according to that provision." They professed "fears of God's sad displeasure" if it were continued, and they asked "that the several elderships may be sufficiently enabled to keep back all such as are notoriously scandalous," for this function "expressly belongeth to them by divine right, and by the will and appointment of Jesus Christ." They end by acknowledging the right of the magistrate to punish "with civil censures" the miscarriage of church courts, an ad-

mission which probably went rather beyond what the Scots would have liked, and is at least more vague than the definition which the Assembly later set out in the Confession of Faith, a definition which Parliament struck out before adopting that document.

The Assembly, when it met on Monday, 23 March, accordingly adjourned "to carry up the petition and return again." Both Houses appointed a day to consider the petition. Shaw (i, 294) says, "The petition was practically a threat of open disobedience on the part of the Presbyterian clergy, and the House was naturally highly incensed, and determined to express its displeasure." The gravity of the situation is indicated by the terms of the Commons' resolution: "to take this petition into consideration, both concerning the manner of the coming of it in, and the matter of it, and what is fit to be done upon it." The challenge to the Divines was at once taken up in the sermons preached on the next fast day, 25 March. This appears chiefly in the dedications prefixed to them. Francis Cheynell, to the Commons, says, "We live in sickly times, and you are collecting many wholesome and medicinable ingredients; only take heed that you do not mistake one herb for another; it is easily done, and whilst you are but making essays it may be easily rectified. Be pleased to consider that the antidote must be made according to the Dispensatory, the prescription of the great Physician of souls in his saving gospel, that the blessing of Christ may be upon it, and it may prove a soversign antidote for the preventing as well as removing of church offences. Jesus Christ hath not entrusted any state to make new institutions or create new offices in His church." He placed this last sentence in conspicuous italics. Thomas Case, to the Lords, wrote, "I beseech you . . . that in your own persons you will give a precedent to all the kingdom of your willing and ready submission to the gospel of Jesus Christ. With what eyes you are pleased to look upon the ministers thereof, I know not; sure I am, whatever faithful advice in their humble addresses to you hath the imprimatur of scripture upon it, comes armed with the authority of heaven."

On 27 March, the Commons resolved to meet in Grand Committee, and also that they should "propound to the Divines what questions they should think fit, and receive their answer in writing thereunto." These questions were a direct challenge to the claim that the details of church government were by the will of Christ. The Grand Committee met on 1 April, and again on the 3rd. It spent the whole sitting of 8 April on the problem, and decided to deal with it formally, sitting as the House, upon the 10th; but it had to be postponed to the 11th. Then they

decided by 106 to 85 to consider whether the petition was a breach of privilege, and then by 88 to 76 affirmed that it was so. After another postponement they resumed consideration on the 16th, and appointed a strong committee, which included practically every commoner who was a member of the Assembly, "to state the particulars of the breach of privilege." The questions had been considered by a sub-committee of the Grand Committee for Religion, and were read; they were referred to the newly appointed committee, for alteration and addition. Meanwhile, on 17 April, the Commons emitted a counterblast, in their Declaration of their true intentions. It is a carefully worded narrative:

We having so fully declared for a presbyterial government, having spent so much time, taken so much pains for the settling of it, passed most of the particulars [observe the word "most"] brought to us from the Assembly of Divines, called only [here they administered a neat snub] to advise of such things as shall be required of them by both or either of the Houses of Parliament, without any material alteration, saving in the point of commissioners [which in the view of the Divines was, of course, a most fundamental alteration], and having published several ordinances for putting the same in execution, because we cannot consent to the granting of an arbitrary and unlimited power and jurisdiction to near ten thousand judicatories to be erected within this kingdom, and this demanded in such a way as is not consistent with the fundamental laws and government of the same, and by necessary consequence excluding the power of the Parliament of England in the exercise of that jurisdiction.

They proceed to attribute the delay in erecting presbyterial government to their unwillingness "to subject ourselves, and the people of this land, to this vast power." On the 18th, the committee reported, and on the 21st the list of details of breach of privilege was adopted. They may be thus summarised (with actual quotation of phrases, where indicated): Parliament "hath jurisdiction in all causes, spiritual and temporal," and can delegate what portion of it they think fit; their directions are binding on "all persons of this kingdom of what quality soever." The divines were mere advisers, prohibited from exercising any ecclesiastical authority or power. They were authorised to consider church government and had duly tendered their advice. Parliament was aware of their view that the power of exclusion from the sacrament belonged to ministers and elders, but "after mature deliberation had thereupon, did notwithstanding" grant certain powers to commissioners. The Assembly is not authorised to deliver its opinion to the Houses "in matters already judged and determined by them," nor "either to debate or vote whether what is passed as a law by both Houses be agreeing or

disagreeing to the word of God, until they be thereunto required." The issue was thus almost brutally stated, and its fundamental importance was manifest.

A small committee was appointed by the Commons "to communicate in a fair manner" this decision to the Assembly, and to "enlarge themselves upon the several heads." They did not go to the Assembly till the 30th. The "enlarging" is reported in the minutes of Assembly. Sir John Evelyn spoke first; the petition, he said, contained much that was hardly consistent with such a title; Parliament had "spent several days, whole days, and afternoons, considering it. Had it come from anywhere but the Assembly it would have been sternly dealt with." They were sending them questions, and their opinion about these would be received by the Houses with all due respect. Fiennes expressed regret and sadness, but he was expressing the sense of all who sent him. The petition had called the ordinance "in all respects so disagreeable to our Covenant"; but, he asked, "Did the Houses of Parliament give any colour of power to the Assembly to give any interpretation of the national Covenant?" It was to avoid the risk of a clash that they had originally restricted the Assembly to consider only things sent down to them; was it reasonable that after they had offered their advice they should "again interpose their opinion," and moreover do so in order to retract a law? He dealt hard and straight blows: "You are not to make use of the public character the Houses have put upon you to contradict their votes. Why would you have, as it were, the last word of a Parliament?" He digressed into the legal aspects, quoting the fate of the judges in the days of Richard II.

Then came the turn of Samual Browne. He emphasised the unprecedented courtesy of Parliament in sending members to explain to those who had committed a breach of privilege. By the Covenant they had sworn to preserve the privileges of Parliament; and then he repeated the arguments as to the status of the Assembly; "it is by the power of Parliament that you now sit." Once more precedents were quoted from the times of Edward I, of Henry VIII, and of Elizabeth. Many things had been offered to Parliament as *jure divino* "that it had been very careful to weigh and consider; and is it not cause that they should?" They hoped that the action of the Assembly "was rather through mistake than wilfully." To have considered this petition was really out of order, "yet to satisfy, they have framed several questions." After this hammering, Sir John Evelyn said, "It is far from them to dishonour or disoblige you." He rebuked them for not stressing the *jus divinum*

sooner, but going on in "a prudential way." (This must have been rather trying to those who had adopted the milder course to try and conciliate the Dissenting Brethren.) He then acquainted them with the nine questions. With these it was Sir Benjamin Rudyard's task to deal. They were nine in number, and asked about minute details of presbyterial government whether they were *"jure divino* and by the will and appointment of Jesus Christ." There was to be no nonsense; "it will be expected you should answer by clear, practical and express scriptures, not by far-fetched arguments." "I have heard much spoken," he said, "of 'the pattern in the mount'; I could never find in the New testament such a pattern. The first rule is 'Let all things be done decently and in order' to edification; decency and order are variable, and therefore cannot be *jure divino."*

The very first question contained an awkward dilemma. "Whether the parochial and congregational elderships appointed by ordinance of Parliament, or any other congregational or presbyterial elderships are *jure divino* and by the will and appointment of Jesus Christ?" If those thus appointed were so, then Parliament was a body able to express the will of Christ; if they were not so, why had the Divines pressed Parliament to erect them? The other questions were on similar lines, and so framed as to mention details which, as such, would be impossible to prove by an express text of scripture, yet could be reasonably deduced from the fundamental position formulated later in the famous phrase of the Confession of Faith, "The Lord Jesus Christ, as King and Head of the Church, hath therein appointed a government in the hand of church officers, distinct from the civil magistrate." This clause was naturally struck out of the Confession by Parliament in June 1648.

These posers gave the Assembly much heart-searching. They appointed 6 May as a fast. The account of that day is recorded in the chapter on their Devotions. But already on 4 May they agreed "to enquire how many ways the will and appointment of Jesus Christ is set out in scripture." Next day they decided that it was set out in several ways, one of which was in express words. On 7 May, the day after the fast, they agreed that another way was "by necessary consequence." On the next day (8 May) they sent a problem to each of the three great committees. 1. The nature of the *jus divinum* in reference to church government in general. 2. The nature of church government and wherein it doth consist. 3. Whether this church government be in the hands of church officers only. The Dissenting Brethren asked to be made a separate committee to bring in their judgment; "but because it

was late and the Assembly not a full number," the question was "respited." On 14 May, they obtained leave, "provided that they do so order their reports as that the Assembly may not be delayed" in debating the reports of the three committees. Nye dissented, because this did not give them enough freedom. On 15 May, the Divines supported their position by four texts, and on the 18th added the statement that many articles of faith were "proved by Christ and his apostles out of the Old Testament only by consequence." On 28 May, they resolved that "some examples" shewed the will and appointment of Jesus Christ, and on 1 June, they specified five, one of which was the Christian Sabbath; next day they discussed an explanation of the authority of such examples, including such varied things as the building of altars by the patriarchs, the marriage of a deceased brother's wife, the erection of synagogues and the reading of scripture in them, the baptising of persons but once.

On 25 May, the Divines had distributed the nine parliamentary questions to their three committees. But they were very busy on the Confession of Faith; Baillie (ii, 377) says, "The Parliament's questions have retarded us much; without them we had ended the Confession of Faith. A committee has prepared answers for them all, much for our advantage, and contrary to the expectation of those who moved them." So it was not till 30 June that the first committee was told to meet in the afternoon to prepare an answer. At its meeting a paper was presented as answer to the first question; the committee were mostly willing to adopt it as their report, but some brethren opposed this. So the drafters of it presented it from themselves, and it was read. This position was what Baillie expected: "We fear great opposition from the Independents, who are so earnest as ever to keep off determinations." The Assembly took an ingenious method of meeting this difficulty; it just dropped the dissentients, and constituted the drafters a committee to complete the work. Discussion went on and the Assembly adopted the stringent provision laid down by Parliament as to registering the votes. Several decisions had been taken, the votes being recorded (as is related elsewhere) when, on 22 July, the Commons sent a message to hasten the Confession and Catechism. These fully occupied them till 4 December.

Selden chuckled, rather cynically, at the difficulties of the Divines (*Table Talk:* "Presbytery"): "When the queries were sent to the Assembly concerning the *Jus divinum* of presbytery, their asking time to answer them was a satire upon themselves. For if it were to be seen in

the text, they might quickly turn to the place and shew us it. Their delaying to answer makes us think there is no such thing there. They do just as you have seen a fellow do at a tavern reckoning; when he should come to pay his reckoning, he puts his hands in his pockets, and keeps a-grabbing and a-fumbling, and shaking; at last tells you he has left his money at home, when all the company knew at first that he had no money there, for every man can quickly find his own money."

The questions seem not to have been considered thereafter. The Confession of Faith was quite clear as to the general principles, and the Commons apparently did not press the matter. Warfield (p. 44) says that the *Jus Divinum Regiminis Ecclesiastici* of the London ministers is "supposed to incorporate the Assembly's answers to the *jus divinum* queries propounded to it by Parliament." Parliament reasserted its position by its modification of the Confession in June 1648, by which time the Assembly had become little more than a body for the examination of ministers, that being the only portion remaining unfinished of the tasks assigned to it by Parliament.

Meanwhile, on 18 May, the Commons had proffered an olive branch; while appointing a committee to enumerate other "scandalous sins" they instructed it "to advise herein with the Assembly of Divines, or such of them as the Assembly shall think fit." If by the advice of the Assembly the list of such offences could be made complete (a forlorn hope, indeed), then the duty laid on the commissioners would lapse. The Commons evidently felt the danger of a head-on collision with the Assembly; and on 21 May, on a full vote, and by the small majority of 110 to 99, leave was given to reopen the question of the County Parliamentary Commissioners. So the next day there was a debate, and on 23 May, "an expedient was offered to the House instead of the commissioners appointed to determine of scandalous offences not enumerated." It was twice read without a division, and a committee was appointed to draft it as an ordinance, which was passed by the Commons on 3 June, and by the Lords two days later. It compromised by putting the initiative in presenting such cases into the hands of the ecclesiastical courts; but it left the final decision in the hands of a central committee instead of numerous county commissions. "With this ordinance the Presbyterian clergy had perforce to be content. Although with qualifications and safeguards, the wooden sword of excommunication had been at last in reality put into their hands" (*Shaw*, i, 298).

Chapter III

THE SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT

The share of the Assembly in shaping and approving the Covenant has been told in the chapter on "Relations with Parliament," and the story of the trouble with Burges in the chapter on "Personal Matters."

It cost the Commons much trouble to get the Covenant widely taken by all classes, and the Assembly became concerned with this in various ways. As early as 3 October, 1643, the question of women taking it arose. Parliament had ordered it to be taken in all the churches of London and Westminster on the following Sunday (8 October). Lightfoot, saying that members of Assembly held divergent views about women taking it, desired that "a uniformity might be settled therein, that none of us might incur prejudice." Gouge thought that this was beyond their power, and must be decided by Parliament; and the debate diverged to the question of the points to be dealt with in expounding the Covenant to the people. This brought out the danger of varied expositions, some of which might not be the exact parliamentary interpretation. No action was taken, either about the women, or about the expounding. On the subsequent Sunday (15 October) the taking of the Covenant was continued, especially in churches where the ministers had been backward in exhorting their people. There is in the Assembly Minutes a somewhat confused list of members appointed to preach in these churches; changes were made in the course of the selection. A definite list is given by Lightfoot, and in the two lists together only fifteen parishes are named, not a large proportion of the London churches. The members' report of their varying success, made on the following Wednesday, contains interesting details.

At St. Botolph's, Aldgate, Wilson reported that many held up their hands, but he could not say how many subscribed; they were mostly of the lower orders; the minister stood by "without encouraging them."

At Harrow, Gibbs was told by the church wardens that the people had been dissuaded by Mr. Lance, a member of the Assembly. Gibbs asked him to preach, but he said that Gibbs might do so. A good many subscribed, perhaps 40 or 50, but they were the minority; the churchwardens thought that "all the minister had power with would not do so"; but Gibbs suggested that another attempt should be made there.

At St. Olave's, Hart Street, the minister, Mr. Haines, was asked by Cheynell to subscribe, but refused, and threw away the pen. About a

hundred of the parishioners held up their hands and pressed forward to sign; then Haines took a book out of his pocket, and shewed it to Cheynell; it was the unauthorised version of the Covenant issued by Philip Lane, which contained in the first Article the words, "as far as we do or shall in our consciences conceive to be according to the word of God"; and with this qualification he took the Covenant. It was an awkward moment for Cheynell, for the clause had been suggested by the Assembly as a suitable addition, but had not been accepted by Parliament; so a member of the Assembly could scarcely object to it.

At St. Peter's le Poor, Richard Holdsworth, Master of Emanuel College, Cambridge was rector, though sequestered some ten days later. Here Newcomen could not get in touch with the churchwardens; there was "a confluence of all the malignants of the town," and when he prayed for the Assembly there was a disturbance. The parish contained seventy houses; 19 householders, and 27 others, subscribed, but neither the reader, the curate, nor the clerk would do so; "the churchwarden was satisfied at last, and subscribed."

Dr. Smith found no copy of the Covenant ready for signature, the order having, the churchwardens told him, only just arrived. But he read it from a printed copy to a congregation that was "exceeding thin for the men; all that were there did hold up their hands, about the number of some 50 or 60 at the most." He believed that they all subscribed.

At St. Martin's, Ludgate, the incumbent had gone out of town, and was reported to be "greatly averse from taking the Covenant." But the lecturer had explained it to the parishioners, and it was well subscribed, "for the parish dissented to their minister because he dissented to this business." He was Michael Jermyn, formerly chaplain to the Princess Elizabeth, and later rector of Edburton, Sussex. The curate would not subscribe.

At Bennet's, Paul's Wharf, Arrowsmith found the churchwardens keen; thirty had subscribed beforehand on "a paper"; he counted a hundred more on "the roll,"—apparently 130 in all. Thomas Adams, whom Anthony Wood calls "an excellent preacher," was the rector.

At St. Peter's, Cornhill, Carter found willing churchwardens also; the parishioners had absented themselves when the Covenant had been read before. The rector, William Fairfax, had recently been sequestered; he was one of White's "First Century," and was given a bad character. The "minister," Edward Marbury (one of Walker's "Sufferers"), was absent; the curate subscribed, and also "readily" most of

those present. Carter also read the parliamentary order for contributions for the Scots army, and "pressed them."

At St. Olave's, Silver Street, the churchwardens were "very cordially affected to the cause"; many parishioners had already signed, and the number of men present was small; most of them and many women subscribed. The absence of Alderman Pratt was specially noted by Clayton; and he learned that the minister, Edward Boosey, was "much disaffected," and secretly influenced many parishioners.

At St. Andrew's, Undershaft, Roborough had certain questions given him as he went into the pulpit: "1. Whether by any law reformation may be carried on by some?" (This seems to mean that unanimity must be an essential condition.) "2. Whether to swear to government as this layeth it in the Covenant be not implicit faith?" (That is, the Covenant was not explicit enough as to details, and men were signing a blank cheque.) "3. Whether episcopacy refined may not be entertained?" "4. Whether we swear not in the second Article against the laws of the land?" (This must have meant that the abolition of episcopacy had not been formally made into law.) Evidently Roborough satisfied them, for there was "a great congregation; many held up their hands and subscribed"; the signatures filled both sides of the "roll" that had been prepared; "the greater part were the middle sort of men"; a schoolmaster refused it. The rector here was John Pritchett, after the Restoration Bishop of Gloucester.

Later, on 11 December, Case was appointed to preach at Bow Church the next Sunday, and tender the Covenant; he reported on the Monday, 18 December, that he had good success. Jeremiah Leech was the rector.

On 1 January, 1643–4, it was reported that the parishoners of St. Gregory's had not taken the Covenant, but wished to do so; Burges was appointed to go there. Rowland Jennings, Sub-dean of St. Paul's, was the rector, and remained there till 1656.

On 16 October, the Commons called for a return of those Divines who had not taken the Covenant. It was probably the experience of 15 October in the various London parishes which led the Assembly on the 17th to move Parliament to send the Covenant out into the provinces, "that we may have the hearts of the people." It was not till 6 November that the Commons referred the matter to a committee; and on 30 January, 1643–4, they agreed to instructions for this purpose, and ordered the Divines to prepare an exhortation to accompany them. On 5 February, the exhortation of the Assembly, "to be sent by order of Parliament unto the several counties to move all to take the Covenant, was

read and voted" (*Gillespie,* p. 9). An ordinance for the purpose, with the exhortation, was printed and issued in mid-February. Vicars (*God's Ark,* p. 147) calls it "a most emphatical and pathetical exhortation," and says that it was "for the better and more full satisfaction of all such scruples as might arise."

The taking of the Covenant was not necessarily sincere; on 6 December, 1643, Byfield reported that he had caused the arrest of four prentices who, after taking it, went to an alehouse, drank Prince Rupert's health, and said that they meant to be on that side, and would soon be made officers and commanders. He asked leave of absence to go to their trial.

The Journals of the House of Commons afford ample evidence in the ensuing years of the efforts needed to get the Covenant widely taken in England, and of the increasing employment of it as a political rather than a religious test, it having, of course, both implications. So it is not surprising to find that Gillespie, reporting to the General Assembly so late as August 1647, said "The Parliament, though it hath enjoined the subscription of it in all the kingdom, yet there is no penalty charged upon the not-subscribers of it." This was not universally true, for the loss of office was incurred in some cases. "And so," he went on, "by many it is not only slighted, but also it is written against, of late, by the whole University of Oxford, which hath not as yet gotten an answer, but I hope it shall shortly" (*Baillie,* iii, 453).

Chapter IV

RELATIONS WITH THE SCOTTISH GENERAL ASSEMBLY

In the autumn of 1642, the English Parliament invited the Commission of the General Assembly to name ministers "to assist at their Synod," which at that time was expected to meet on 5 November. The General Assembly proceeded to do so; "it was intended by some that only ministers should go," says Baillie (ii, 55). He moved for elders also, but got no one to second this. He then drew up reasons, shewed them to Argyle and Warriston, and succeeded at the next session in getting this agreed to without opposition, five ministers and three elders being named. Baillie's reasons were five: 1. The constant practice of the Church of Scotland. 2. The danger of teaching the English "that in ecclesiastic matters of greatest concernment, ruling elders may be neglected; yea, it should confirm that common error of too many of the English, that church affairs should be handled by divines alone." (The stress laid on this point by the Scots at the meetings of the Westminster Assembly, and the strong opposition thereto prove the soundness of Baillie's judgment; though it is curious that in the end the English Parliament introduced a larger proportion of ruling elders into the classes than was liked by the Scots; this was probably due to the Erastian fear of a tyrannical clergy.) 3. The value of their help to the ministers. 4. Their exclusion might even invalidate the Commission. 5. Though the request of the English Parliament was for divines alone yet "to this sundry things may be answered" (ii, 479).

It is especially to be noted that while the English peers and commoners were appointed members of the Assembly on Erastian principles, representing the state, the Scots were there for an opposite reason, as elders appointed by the church.

Selden was very frank about the position (*Table Talk:* "Synod"). "There must be some laymen in the Synod to overlook the clergy, lest they spoil the civil work, just as when the good woman puts a cat into the milkhouse to kill a mouse she sends her maid to look after the cat, lest the cat should eat up the milk."

Before the end of July, 1643, Mr. Corbet had been in Scotland, asking for Scottish divines to come to London, "for whom he had a strong ship in readiness" (*Baillie,* ii, 80). On 10 August, the English parliamentary commissioners presented a paper (*Peterkin,* p. 347), refer-

ring to "the assistance of some godly and learned divines sent from this nation, as is earnestly desired." The matter was referred to the coming General Assembly, which appointed its commissioners.

That they were intended to be not merely individual assessors to the Westminster Assembly, but a body which could take corporate action, is clearly shewn by the fact that "any three were a quorum" (*Baillie,* ii, 96). Warfield (p. 31) goes so far as to say, "The proper task of the Scotch commissioners lay not in the Assembly of Divines, but outside of it," giving various references to support this somewhat extreme view. When they arrived in London, "they were desired to sit as members of the Assembly, but they wisely declined to do so." They were willing to assist as individuals in the debates, but they requested that as regards uniformity in religion "a committee might be appointed from the Parliament and the Assembly to treat with them there anent." "After some harsh enough debates," which must have been brief, the Commons agreed to this on 12 September; "so once a week, and whiles ofter, there is a committee of some Lords and Commons and Divines, which meets with us anent our commission" (*Baillie,* ii, 110). Their position in this joint committee was naturally one of great weight; Gillespie reported to the General Assembly on 6 August, 1647, "We have given in many papers as concerning . . . such things as, in your judgment and ours, was defective among them. (*Baillie,* iii, 450). It is to be noted that whenever Baillie writes "we," it is not the Assembly, but the Scots group; the Assembly is "they."

The first contact of the Westminster Assembly with Scotland was by order of Parliament, which had received a letter dated 17 July, 1643, from the commissioners of the Scottish General Assembly. On 3 August, the Commons instructed the Divines to answer this "to possess the people of that kingdom with our condition and to encourage them to our assistance in this cause of religion." Drafted by a committee, the reply was approved by the Assembly on 4 August, and by the Commons on the 5th (*Peterkin,* p. 351). Marshall and Nye went north with it. Baillie's letter to Spang (ii, 89) suggests that this reached the General Assembly not later than Thursday 10 August, which would have been speedy, even for a special express. But as he did not write till 22 September, he must have unwittingly telescoped the business, for Peterkin shews that it arrived on Thursday 17th. Baillie's account of its character and of its reception is accurate.

A letter from that Assembly, subscribed by their prolocutor, Dr. Twisse, and his assessors, Mr. White and Dr. Burges, shewing their permission

from the Parliament to write to us, and their invitation of some of us to come for their assistance; Further a letter subscribed by above seventy of their divines, supplicating in a most deplorable style help from us in their present most desperate condition. . . . All these were presented by us to the Assembly, and read openly. The letter of the private divines was so lamentable that it drew tears from many.

A committee was appointed to draft an answer, which was done by Robert Blair, and approved on 19 August (*Peterkin,* p. 357).

When the Scots arrived in London, Lord Saye and Sele came to the Assembly (11 September, 1643) to inform them that the Commissioners were charged with a message from the General Assembly to the Assembly of Divines. A committee of nine was appointed to meet them at 3 o'clock in the Star Chamber, "and to receive such papers from them as shall be directed to them from the General Assembly." These papers had been referred to them from the Commons, with leave to appoint such a committee. The Scots letter was read in the Assembly that afternoon, and copies of "the order of this Assembly," and also of the "order of Parliament" were sent to them, with the thanks of the Assembly. The thanks were not put in writing, because Parliament had not ordered this. The committee was to meet the Commissioners again the next day, and in addition to thanking them was to ask whether they had any further papers to submit. On 12 September, the letter from the Scottish Assembly was read a second time; a motion was made by Dr. Staunton to strengthen the committee as it was "like to be a committee of more than ordinary service," but the nine were considered enough. Although the Scottish letter was addressed to the Assembly, it was thought desirable to communicate it to Parliament, and the Commons ordered it to be printed under Byfield's supervision. Mr. de la March hoped that "as they should join with us to oppose the enemy in the war, so also with us in a spiritual way to fight against our enemies." The position of the Scots Commissioners was not quite clear to the Assembly; Calamy said "they are not sent as members, but desire liberty to come among us and hear our debates." On 14 September, it was ordered that "at the reception of the Scottish Commissioners some gratulatory expressions by the prolocutor, and seconded by Dr. Hoyle" should be made. A brief summary of these is given in the minutes for 15 September.

The prolocutor said, "Surely the Lord knows the bitterness of that cup of fury put into our hands, how few there are to guide the Church of England of all the sons she hath brought up. Blessed be you of the

Lord that are come in such a seasonable time." He referred to the national enmity,—"the accustomed hatred between borderers"—and added "yet the bond of religion is of far greater union." God had found a way to remove all blocks. He ended by saying, "We trust that we shall forsake Babylon in doctrine, in worship, in discipline," a forecast of the three great lines of work, the Confession and Catechisms, the Directory of Worship, and the Form of Church Government.

Dr. Hoyle, chosen no doubt to represent Ireland, thought that a union of the Church of God could face "the worst concurrence of our worst brethren." Churches, he said, that have come through the smoke of popery are the purest churches; and the purest have prospered the best. Scotland was an instance; "had we done as our brethren about us had, we had not had this occasion." They needed not to say, "Come over to Macedonia and help us"; they might say with David, "You are come to us to help us; our hearts are knit to yours."

Case then, with an apology for his presumption in speaking, added a greeting. They had trodden the winepress alone, but "Blessed be God that hath taken off from our lips all occasion of so sad a complaint this day." He rejoiced that Scotland had sent them "a noble Bezaleel, a reverend Paul, a learned Timothy" (Warriston, Henderson, and Gillispie). The fire kindled was but the mystery of the burning bush; the wind was no whirlwind, but the wind of which John the Baptist spoke.

Alexander Henderson replied, surprised at the warmth of the welcome and impressed by "what we see and hear with our eyes this day." "When we look to men we have small ground of hope, but when we look to God we cannot but be confident." "We may promise in the name of the church and kingdom of Scotland hearty affection to this work." They had been doubtful as to the best course of action, but a General Assembly met, and "no sooner were they met together than there were plots and discord, as if God had called them to that purpose"; and then, "your commissioners came so opportunely as was to admiration."

On 14 November, 1643, a report and paper from the Scots comsioners were read in Parliament; and Lord Wharton came with an explanation that the Lords and Commons had meant to have the Divines present at the reading, and had taken no action as it was "likely to be debated here with more wisdom"; the Scots Commissioners were willing to give all needed information. Burges replied that the commissioners had been there once or twice, and were always welcome. Lightfoot records the four propositions in the paper, which stated the pres-

byterian system, naming "pastors, teachers, ruling elders, and deacons," also "church sessions, classes, provincial synods, and national assemblies." Accordingly the next day they were asked to speak in the matter of the offices of doctor and pastor. Henderson said, "We have not any of us spoken a word before," and stated that they had come by suggestion of Parliament, resolved "to give our assistance to the uttermost." The situation was most important; "the eyes of Scotland and Ireland, and of all Reformed Churches are upon you," with delight and fervent expectation, and Papists and Arminians felt "great fear and astonishment." After this declaration he proceeded to discuss the question before the Assembly.

On 20 November, the prolocutor welcomed two other commissioners, Baillie and Rutherford. Baillie says (ii, 104) that the Scots had "called earnestly once and again for their presence." They had to get a formal warrant from Parliament to present to the prolocutor; for, says he (ii, 107), "here no mortal man may enter to see or hear, let be to sit, without an order in write from both Houses of Parliament." Soon after his arrival he writes (ii, 167), "I think we would be much the better of Mr. Blair's company," and "come who will, Maitland should be adjoined to them." At the end of the year (29 December) Henderson was greatly troubled at the prospect of Maitland being recalled. "His Lordship's presence and pains here have been more useful than any of us could at the first have conceived; and if we shall want his Lordship hereafter, not only shall our respect, which we have need of in this place, be diminished, but we shall not know how or by what means to deal with the Houses of Parliament, upon which the Assembly doth altogether depend in their order of proceeding, and in taking particulars to their consideration. My Lord is well acquainted with the chiefest members of both Houses, hath dexterity in dealing with them, and is much honoured by them; but we can neither attend their times, nor will they be so accessible to us when we want his Lordship" (*Baillie,* ii, 485).

On 3 May, 1644, Baillie wrote (ii, 176), "My Lord Warriston is gone to Scotland with the Articles of Peace." He had taken leave of the Assembly on 1 May, and had desired "to receive their commands." The prolocutor by desire of the Assembly said that they were "very sensible of the great honour and respect which it hath pleased the Church of Scotland to put upon us in sending such honourable and reverend persons to honour us and further us." They were a little troubled that they had not had rather more notice of his going. "His departure hence was so sudden to us," they wrote in their letter of 17

May, "that we could not have time (as his Lordship can inform you) to tender by him . . . a testimony of our brotherly and intimate affections" (*Peterkin,* p. 401). "Your Lordship has been an eye and ear witness of some of our proceedings. We are engaged for a great many learned debates; you know how far hitherto we have been able to proceed. It will not be comely for us to make any report of particulars till matters are brought nearer to a period; but by what is already begun, you may see what in due season we hope to accomplish by God's grace and the further assistance of the reverend brethren from Scotland. We are sensible of the great help we have thus far had, and, if it may stand with the good liking and affairs of both kingdoms, we desire that we may still enjoy their help and assistance here. They may both help us, and be eye witnesses of our sincerity, ingenuity, and candour. We pray that they would be pleased to assist us in what they may, for we have already found much help. We shall pray for a blessing upon you in your journey home, and what we now express by word of mouth we shall be able later to put in a letter."

A committee, with Burges as chairman, was appointed to draft the letter. It was read on 16 May, but recommitted, and the committee was told to communicate it to the Commons. Just before they did so the Commons had resolved to instruct them to write such a letter, "as a testimony of their respect, and to preserve a good correspondency; not meddling with anything that is concluded or under debate in this Assembly." This limitation is in accord with the prolocutor's speech, and is carefully implemented in the latter, which is in most general terms. "Sometimes through God's goodness we have a prosperous gale; sometimes again we sail, like Paul and his company, very slowly many days. And even then, when we draw near the Fair Havens, some contrary winds put us out into the deep again. We walk in paths that have hitherto been untrodden by any Assembly in this Church; we therefore are enforced to spend more time in our enquiries" (*Peterkin,* p. 401). But Baillie had written on the 14th, "In our public letter to the General Assembly we shall give an account how the affairs of our Synod go." That of course they were entitled to do in their independent position as Scots Commissioners.

Warriston returned, with Maitland, on 14 August, 1644, bringing a letter from the General Assembly (*Peterkin,* p. 402), and the renewal of their commission. It recounted for their encouragement the progress already made, the taking of the Covenant, the abolition of prelacy, "the service-book in many places forsaken, and plain and powerful

preaching set up," and so forth; and thanked them for "all the kindness and respect you have shewn to our commissioners." The General Assembly also, in renewing their commission, urged their representatives to expedite the Directory and the Form of Church Government. Baillie says (ii, 220) that Warriston had "very particularly declared in the Assembly the passionate desires both of our Parliament, Assembly, armies, and the whole people, of the performance of the covenanted uniformity." Burges said, "We have great cause to praise God, when we find them so vigorous and unwearyable in the work and service of the Lord in this kingdom. You see what it is they do so earnestly long for, and not only the General Assembly, but the whole body of the kingdom; this must make us more studious to find out a more compendious way for ending our business." After Burges had spoken, Henderson suggested that they should renew their request for the meeting of the Grand Committee of Lords, Commons, and Divines; and the Scots gave in a paper asking for expedition, to be delivered by Lord Saye and Sele to the Lords, by St. John to the Commons, and by Marshall to the Assembly. The arrival of letters from the Earl of Manchester (as related in the chapter on Supply of Ministers) was a collateral reason for pressing the question on Parliament.

On 16 August, 1644, when Parliament (as related elsewhere) had returned the work of the Assembly on ordination gravely altered, the Scots commissioners approached the Lords, plainly saying that this would "prove a great prejudice and hindrance" to the achievement of uniformity. They did not want to be blamed at home, and so requested the Lords "that we may have such answer returned to us as for our exoneration we may communicate to those that sent us."

On 16 September, 1644, Baillie writes (ii, 231), "The Chancellor is here, in a very needful time." Lord Loudon had been introduced to the Assembly that day by Marshall and Nye. The prolocutor said how acceptable his presence was; there had been hatred between the two kingdoms in the past, "but God hath now joined them." "We know what followed here upon a desire of King James to unite us under one church government, the episcopal; now God hath brought us under the bond of a covenant to bring us under one form of government, and we have cause to magnify His gracious hand, in the union of hearts and affections among all the good people in both kingdoms. We trust that He will go on in the good work thus begun, and that the issue will be comfortable; we all concur in prayer that God will bless it." The Chancellor then presented his commission, which was read. Thereafter

he said, "I need not give any new assurance of the affections of the Church of Scotland to this Assembly. Clear evidence is given by the fact that the Church and kingdom have chosen to endure affliction with you in this time of your troubles, rather than to enjoy their own peace." The respect shewn to the Scots commissioners was appreciated as respect shewn to the Scottish nation. "Nothing on earth would more refresh them than to hear of the happy conclusion of this Assembly. It is a common objection that Anabaptists and Brownists have so great an influence; though I am confident that this is but an aspersion, yet I hope the wisdom of this Assembly will disprove it." After that broad hint, he referred to the inclusion of the religious settlement among the propositions of peace then being sent to the king.

Burges replied,

It is almost beyond our hopes that a person of so much eminence and worth should be spared for this work in such times. I shall forbear to speak in any long discourse. By God's providence you have been employed in a time of great concussion and desperate stroke, and have been a sufferer in more eminent degree than any of the rest. It is but right that we should have a great deal of joy in the honour of your membership; we have, in a manner, the abridgement of the whole church and nation of Scotland. It is true that God has cast us back of our expectations in the accomplishment of the work, but it is a source of content to receive quickening, especially from a whole church. We desire to respect the Covenant, and shall welcome any contribution to this end, either here or elsewhere. Assemblies are a strange path, as yet unbroken with us, so our defects may be excused.

On 2 December, 1644, Loudon urged that if the Directory for Church Government were put in readiness before the General Assembly early in January, "it would be a great encouragement." Though there was some speeding up, this was not fully accomplished, the question of excommunication standing over. On 30 December, it was resolved to send a letter to the General Assembly, and a committee of seven was appointed. "The heads of those things passed the Assembly to be put into the letter, and to give them of Scotland an account of how far the Assembly hath proceeded." Burges reported for the committee on 3 January, 1644–5, and difficulties at once appeared, as is related by Gillespie (p. 99). Temple thought that the Assembly had no warrant to give an account of what they had done. To this the rather specious reply was given that "the Assembly send not the very votes, but the heads, in a letter." Nye criticised the contents of the letter, and reminded the Assembly (as might have been expected from him) that

Parliament might alter what they had done. Seaman defended the draft, but thought that they could not send it without authority from Parliament; so Marshall suggested that they should submit the draft to Parliament and ask for authority. Rous and Tate drew up a reply, and the Commons gave authority "provided the House was first acquainted with the letter."

So the discussion in the Assembly went on. Goodwin and Nye objected to the statement that the work "had been obstructed by some difficulties," taking this as a reflection upon themselves. Temple pressed the importance of weighing every word, for it would be printed in the Acts of the General Assembly. Nye made a further objection that the letter made uniformity a ground of peace and union between the kingdoms, as if the peace depended upon that. He was reminded that war and peace were not mentioned in the letter, only "common interest and safety"; and to meet his objection the latter word was omitted. He then objected altogether to the mention of uniformity with Scotland, and was again corrected, because, "quite contrary, the letter saith, the word of God must be a common rule both to them and to us."

Next day the Commons gave permission to write what had been passed in both Houses in church matters, and to leave other things to the Church of Scotland Commissioners to report. On the 5th some alterations were made in the letter by the Assembly, and it was approved and signed. It was quite different from the former letter, giving full details of progress in the various tasks, and it asked "not only for the continuance of these excellent helpers, Mr. Alex. Henderson and Mr. Sam. Rutherford, yet remaining with us, but also for the speedy return hither of our reverend brethren that are now going home, for the perfecting of that work which yet remains" (*Peterkin,* p. 417).

Warriston had gone north on 26 December; Baillie and Gillespie went together, and arrived "very weary and fashed with a long evil way," but "without any fall or misaccident to any of our party." Gillespie had spoken for both of them to the Divines on 3 January, 1644–5.

I acknowledge it to be one of the greatest mercies that I have ever received to have contributed and to have been edified here. I go away more confirmed in my own conscience that the government is most agreeable to the word of God. Mr. Baillie is of the same mind. My infirmities have appeared too much in this Assembly; at some times I have offended some; at some times I have taken up time in speaking and hindered others that should have spoken better. He that hath begun the good work will finish it. Your difficulties have been many; at first prelacy and the prayer book; now other impediments which I pray God

may remove. To the dissenting brethren I owe great respect; may I give them a word of love and affection? I wish they may be as unwilling to divide from us as we have been unwilling to divide from them. I wish that, instead of toleration, there may be a mutual agreement for a happy accommodation. There is a certain measure of forbearance, but it is not so seasonable to be talking of forbearance as of mutual endeavours for accommodation. It is true that two are better than one; but it is not true of parties, since God has promised to give His people one heart and one way.

After this gracious appeal, he ended by saying that the Scots would carefully execute any instructions, and "though we go from you, we shall be present with you in spirit."

On 20 January, 1644–5, the prolocutor welcomed Sir Charles Erskine, but no details are recorded. Lord Loudon took the opportunity of urging that if the dissenting brethren did not agree to the Directory for Ordination, "reasons and solutions" might be supplied by the Assembly.

The General Assembly's reply of 13 February, 1644–5, recognised that the Divines had "carefully adverted in every step to set foot upon sure ground," and welcomed the Directory, with a reservation as to the method of distribution of the elements in the Lord's Supper; it agreed to the Form of Church Government, with the delightfully cautious clause, "so soon as the same shall be without any substantial alteration ratified" by the English Parliament. They anticipated no difficulty about the Confession and Catechisms. They also gave commendation and further instructions to their own Commissioners (*Peterkin,* p. 429).

Baillie and Gillespie did not return till 9 April, 1645. They had met with a storm at sea, "so extraordinary that many here [in London]," says Baillie (ii, 264), "thought we had been cast away." Gillespie, in his speech, said "We did intend to be here a month ago, but were carried away to Holland." He presented the respects of the General Assembly, whose hearts were much with the Divines, for whom they prayed both publicly and privately. "The Directory for Church Government was accepted with great joy and contentment, both to the General Assembly and to Parliament, and approved in both without one contrary vote in either." Still, there was more to be done, and "they were so much comforted by these firstfruits that it makes them long for the full harvest; they are confident that the Lord will not desert the work in your hand." "It is desired that we may be as quickly home as possible." Lord Loudon again pressed that the Grand Committee should hasten things.

In welcoming them back, the prolocutor expressed the joy of the Assembly at the good acceptance in Scotland of their work; "as for the

letter it could never come soon enough to satisfy our expectations; and how late soever it is, it comes with great acceptation and thankfulness." They had no doubt of the zeal of Parliament; Baillie, a fortnight later, writes of the general situation (ii, 264), "The English look on us already much more cheerfully than of late."

Lauderdale went north on 2 May, 1645; the record of his departure is purely formal. It was in connection with his journey that the Commons (6 May) asked the Lords to concur in sending to the General Assembly the Assembly's preamble and the votes passed by Parliament concerning church government. When he returned, on 1 January, 1645–6, with a letter from the Commission of General Assembly, Lord Balmerino was with him, and Burges welcomed him. "I hope," said he, probably with the thought of the Dissenting Brethren at the back of his mind, "I hope it is the desire of us all to promote all ways and means" for a union. "There be many difficulties in this great work; and we have the more need of such workmen as your Lordship." On 23 February, 1645–6, Lauderdale presented a letter from the Scottish Parliament, "which, high and peremptor terms, but yet wise and unchallangeable in terms, requires the settling of religion at last, according to the advice of the Assembly, without all toleration of any schism" (*Baillie,* ii, 353). Burges again acknowledged it, expressing his joy at being so often the mouthpiece of the Assembly towards Scotland, yet alloyed with a consciousness of his inability to perform the duty adequately. "It is a great happiness that that ancient kingdom should now at length bring forth so much fruit in old age, and that it should bring forth so much fruit to this kingdom, with so much affection, constancy, expense of treasure and blood," not from selfish motives, but "aiming at the glory of God." The acknowledgment of the work of the Assembly was what "our own modesty or deserts could hardly have expected or reached unto." In their prayers and in their actions they would be ready and cheerful, "as becomes the servants of Jesus."

There is an interesting, but satirical, comment on the general situation at this time (*Divine Observations,* p. 3):

Upon the first of January, when the injunctions from the General Assembly in Scotland came unto your grave and learned Assembly, against toleration of Independency in this kingdom, and was read in your reverend audience, you had so ordered Superior Providence that even in that very instant of time (just as if it had been predestinated) this most judicious argumentative letter of the London ministers (from that Sion College conspiracy) should present itself; whereat the learned Mr. Henderson, forthwith in a Scotch rapture, cried out of the great providence of God, saying, Doubtless no other than God was the Father of

two such blessed twins, that at one instant of time so many godly, learned and orthodox of the two kingdoms should so happily concur and meet with their desires.

Warriston brought a letter from the Commission of Assembly on 3 March, 1645–6, and was thanked for it. The Marquis of Argyle arrived with a letter from the General Assembly on 8 July, 1646. Marshall, Sedgwick, and Nye were sent out to bring him into the Assembly. The letter was read and the prolocutor welcomed him. The letter (*Peterkin,* p. 451) was dated 18 June. It stated that when they were depressed about affairs in their own country, they had been heartened by the work of the Assembly in regard to presbyterial government, "wherein your long and unwearied endeavours have been blessed with a large increase, which yet hath proved still a seed unto a further and more glorious expected harvest." On the other hand it refers to "the great danger and fearful confusion flowing from the rise and growth of sects and sectaries not suppressed." In all difficulties, said the prolocutor, they had had encouragement from Scotland, and "to crown all the rest, it is the joy of our hearts to find a person of so great and famous renown and honour, a man in whom the greatest safety of the kingdom of Scotland is reposed," sent to us. "But," he added, "we look not upon these things of greatest eminency and observation; we look upon your Lordship as one of the greatest instruments under God" for the furtherance of religion. Argyle superseded Balmerino as a member of the Assembly.

In the end of 1646, Loudon, Warriston, and Baillie returned to Scotland. On 25 December, Loudon thanked the Assembly for "their zeal, piety, and indefatigableness," and for their respect to his nation. "What hath already been concluded in reformation is so solid a foundation laid of lasting unity, as we are confident no power will be able to overturn it." If the Assembly had any commands to lay upon them, they were ready to serve them. Baillie acknowledged "the favour" of the Assembly, and promised to mention it in his prayers, "both public and private." "I leave my best wishes with the whole company, and with every one of my dear and gracious brethren." The prolocutor thanked them for "the great encouragement and assistance" they had given in the work, and for their faithfulness in the public advice they have been employed in. Warriston's speech is not recorded. Baillie returned to Scotland with great delight (ii, 415), "being over wearied with the insufferable tediousness of this Parliament and Assembly, I resolved to labour for a demission." He said that he "truly may best be spared," and having procured a letter stating the great need of his

return to his work, and relating that his wife and three children were sick, he received the boon which his two comrades envied him.

In thanking Loudon, the prolocutor said that though this would doubtless be recognised elsewhere, they must mention the long marches, many lives sacrificed, and many sieges, successes, victories, and battles; "it is a cause worthy the sacrifice of lives, because it is God's cause." He referred in warm terms to Henderson, who had died in August; and asked the Chancellor to "afford his noble testimony to this Assembly, that the difficulties we encounter withal, the cause of the sticking of things so long in our hands," is not due to any unwillingness on our part. They had "many hearty and humble thanks" for Baillie, and would pray for both of them. Maitland took his leave on 12 January, 1646–7, when the prolocutor said that he "had much adorned the Assembly," and that his influence had "always cast beams of respect and encouragement." He again noted the fact that their being able to sit there in safety was largely due to Scottish counsels and to Scottish arms.

Lauderdale returned on 20 April, 1647, with a letter from the Scots Parliament. Burges frankly expressed the fact that they could not return anything in writing without the leave of Parliament, yet such a letter "should not pass without some acknowledgement." So the prolocutor acknowledged it verbally.

Winram was appointed to take the place of Balmerino or his substitute, or of Warriston; he came to the Assembly on 17 February, 1646–7, when he was introduced by the Scots and other two members, and was welcomed by the prolocutor. When he returned north on 6 July, 1647, he was thanked for his assistance, and commissioned to carry the respects of the Divines to the Commission of General Assembly, "assuring them of the constant resolutions of the Assembly to cleave unto their Covenant."

Of Gillespie's farewell on 16 July, 1647, no details are recorded. On 30 August, the Scottish General Assembly again renewed the commission of their representatives to the Parliament and Assembly, but they did not return to the Assembly. Rutherford did not leave till 9 November, 1647, to become Principal of New College, St. Andrew's; his "great assistance" and "constant attendance" were duly acknowledged by the prolocutor. The Assembly had received several letters from the Church of Scotland to which they had returned no reply, and they wished to take this opportunity. So Marshall and Tuckney drafted a letter, which was "read and debated" on 8 November. Burges took it to the Lords for their sanction; they did not like it, but said if the

Assembly "will frame a letter, expressing nothing but courtesies, civilities and respects to the General Assembly of Scotland and to Mr. Rutherford, and tender the same to this House, their Lordships will consider it." This was certainly not encouraging. A letter from the General Assembly was read on 7 December, 1647, and ordered to be read "in a full Assembly," which was done next day. The Commons ordered that it should be submitted to them, which was done on 13 December.

On 10 March, 1647–8, the Assembly considered sending "a letter of civility" to the Commission of General Assembly. The proposal was not sufficiently attractive; the votes were 12 for and 12 against, so the matter was dropped. But when the time for a full meeting of the General Assembly came near, Marshall moved (2 June, 1648) that a letter be written "to take notice of their constancy and faithfulness in the cause of God wherein they and we have been engaged, and to speak what words of comfort we shall think fit." Burges objected because they had no order from Parliament. They presented the letter to Parliament on 7 June, and got leave from both Houses to send it. It was along the lines suggested by Marshall (*Peterkin,* p. 495). The draft met with dissents to expressions in it from important members,—Hodges, Seaman, Price, Temple, Vines, Raynor, Lightfoot, and Burges. The drafting committee was to confer with them, and to "qualify any expressions in it that may seem harsh." The alterations were made, and the next day the dissents were withdrawn. The Lords and Commons both sanctioned its dispatch. It is not altogether surprising that Baillie (iii, 62) calls it "a general letter."

Blair drafted a "good and uncontroverted" reply, dated 2 August, but the Westminster Assembly minutes do not record its receipt. It uncompromisingly condemned the English Parliament; if it "had timely made use of that power which God had put in their hands, for suppressing of sectaries, and had taken a speedy course for settling of presbyterial government . . . then had not the insolency of that party arisen to such a height as to give occasion to the malignants of both kingdoms . . . to encourage one another to new and more dangerous attempts." They still hoped against hope, asking the Assembly "gravely to warn your Dissenting Brethren what a door they keep open for errors and heresies by their tenet of Independency," and pinning their hopes on the presbyterian sympathies of the City of London (*Peterkin,* p. 508).

Three days later, the General Assembly reappointed its commissioners but this letter was the last communication between the two bodies.

Chapter V

RELATIONS WITH FOREIGN CHURCHES

It must never be overlooked that the Assembly was a matter of great interest to the Reformed Churches on the Continent. It had indeed at one time been hoped that an Assembly in which they would take part might be convened; but Parliament desired an English one, for the reform of the national church. At an early stage (15 November, 1643) Henderson reminded the Divines that these Continental churches were interestedly watching them, and that it was desirable that they should try to avoid giving offence or prejudice to them.

The Synod of Zealand had in fact sent a letter to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in June, expressing their "anxiety and sorrow arising from the lamentable condition of the church in Ireland, and troubled state of the Church of England." Before the Assembly met, on 24 May, 1643, the Commons had ordered the printing of a "Remonstrance" presented by the four Classes of Zealand to the government of that province, "concerning the welfare of the Church of England." This had been sent over by Walter Strickland, the parliamentary agent in Holland. It emphasized the need for all the Reformed Churches standing together against the encroaching wave of Romanism; and asked the Zealand States to order a day of fasting and prayer "to be kept and held weekly or monthly, as shall be appointed, until that the heavy troubles in England be ceased and stilled," urging them also to "come and help the crying necessity of the afflicted church in England, by such means as the fear of God, the holy wisdom and good providence of your Lordships shall teach you." This evidence of sympathy no doubt suggested to the Commons to ask the Assembly to write a letter to the Classes of the Netherlands on behalf of Ireland (27 July). They were commissioning four merchants, two English and two Dutch, to ask these churches for pecuniary help. The drafting of the letter was entrusted to a committee of half a dozen, with the result that two letters were submitted. That of Dr. Hoyle was approved by the Assembly; strange to say, Twisse "desired to send his in his own name" (presumably to the House, not to Holland), "but did not." An English translation was also made by Hoyle. The letters were submitted to the Commons on 29 July, read in Latin, and approved by that House. On 8 August, the merchants obtained leave to sail.

On 22 November, 1643, in response to an order from the Commons, who, says Baillie (ii, 111), "became the other day sensible of their too long neglect of writing to the churches abroad of their condition," a committee was appointed to prepare letters to the churches of the Netherlands. This was a letter of wider scope than the former one; the order provides fairly detailed instructions to the Assembly. Great weight is laid upon the presence of Papists in the king's army and in places of responsibility about him; the Dutch are to be warned against "the great artifices and disguises of his Majesty's agents" abroad, and to be informed that his party considers other Protestant churches as "unsound, because not prelatical." The Commons added the Scots Commissioners to the Joint Committee of Lords, Commons, and Divines, for the preparation of this statement. Baillie says that "the drafting of this was committed to Palmer, who yet (7 December) is upon them." Early in December Baillie (ii, 115) expects that they will be sent "shortly," and begs Spang to secure that in the reply, and if possible in those of other churches also, conformity to all the Reformed Churches should be emphasised, and that the Assembly be asked to "be very diligent to eschew that democratic anarchy and independence of Particular congregations"; that would be a "great dash" to the Independents. The draft was approved in committee just before Christmas (ii, 117). Nothing more is mentioned in the minutes before the lamentable two months' hiatus. But Palmer seems to have been relieved of the drafting, for Baillie tells us (ii, 123) that the letter was Marshall's composition, "except some clauses belonging to us, put in by Mr. Hendersen." In the meanwhile he had warned Spang (ii, 115) of the impending arrival of the letter, and had begun his many earnest entreaties to him to secure helpful and encouraging replies, not only from Holland, but from other Continental churches. Such evidence of the sympathy of the wide-spread presbyterianism of the Continent would, of course, be most valuable to the Covenanting cause. On 1 January, 1643–4, Baillie puts it thus (ii, 126). "A grave and weighty admonition to this Assembly to be careful to suppress all schismatics, and the mother and foster of it all, the independency of congregations," will be "very seasonable, and will be well taken, I assure you, both by Parliament and Assembly, and all except some few who are guilty of the fault." From Lightfoot we learn that on 5 January the letter, first in English and then in Arrowsmith's Latin translation, was read. "This, being exceeding long, kept us the most of the morning," and there was "some small debate upon some part" of the letter. Three days later some members (of whom

Lightfoot was one) were "entrusted to copy out the letters." Next day again there was debate whether "Sabbath" should be substituted for "Lord's Day," but the latter was retained. Arrowsmith's translation of the Solemn League and Covenant (to be sent with the latter) was criticised as regards some expressions, and finally approved.

On 8 December, 1643, Calamy read a letter from Hamburg about a case of conscience; but it was laid aside because it had not come through Parliament. From Lightfoot we learn that it came from Jeremiah Elborough, minister to the English Company there, and concerned the case of a young man who had been married "without banns asking." Elborough wanted to know, was he to be debarred from communion till he confessed his fault? What was the custom of the Church of England? John Glynn, the Recorder of London, cleverly suggested that the matter of the Church's custom would be fixed later by the Assembly itself.

On 4 March, 1643–4, a "large and very affectionate letter" in Latin, came from the Church of Walcheren. It cordially thanked the Assembly for its letters, and was "most affectedly sensible of our miseries; and withal they exceedingly distaste the *Apology* of the Independents." Baillie's first impression (ii, 163) was that "it came wonderful opportunely, and will do a great deal of good"; yet it disappointed the Scots: "Not only the Independents make use of it publicly against us, but some of our prime men, Mr. Marshall by name, upon it . . . dissents from us, giving excommunication, and (what is more) ordination to our sessions in all ordinary cases" (*Baillie,* ii, 165). When the letter was discussed in the Assembly Seaman desired "that we may have leave to speak our sense of the *Apology,"* and Smith actually suggested that its authors "should write a second apology to that and other Reformed Churches." The letter and the reply, with English translations, were sent to the Commons for their information. Corbet and Reynolds were instructed to make the translations, which were ready two days later; after discussion as to procedure, the English was read, and the Latin copy of the Walcheren letter was given into the hands of the Independents. A strong committee was appointed to present these documents to the Commons along with a declaration that "this Assembly had no hand in the *Apology,* nor knowledge of it till published." This declaration "cost some hot agitation before it could be concluded, but at last it was voted." The opposition was renewed on 8 March, Nye claiming that the message was unnecessary, and the Independents complained that by implication it charged the authors of the *Apology* with a breach of the Parliament's

order, because it said "the Assembly having religiously kept the order of the Houses in this Kind"—doubtless the order against publishing anything without consent. The offensive phrase, which did evidently imply that the Apologists had not done the same, was cut out. A statement that the Walcheren Churches had "complained" was however retained. Lightfoot argued that they had asked aid from these churches, and could not expect it unless they vindicated themselves; but to do that they required leave from Parliament. On 11 March, the documents were presented to the Commons; the Speaker told the Divines that their message and the letters "were matters of great length and great concernment," and they decided to consider them next day. Accordingly on 14 March the Assembly received an order to print their original letter and the translation "with the several inscriptions to the particular Reformed Churches." Two days earlier the Assembly had asked that they might be printed, as the result of a communication from France, sent through de la March. The Commons heard de la March, who reported that on receipt of the original letter the French Church held a consistory, which had, without opening the letter, informed the civil authorities. They were at once wrongly accused of having had previous correspondence through the same channel; "the Reformed Church," he concluded, "is in a great danger; and therefore the Assembly recommends it to your consideration." The French Church "durst not open the letters till they had imparted the business to the state, who took it ill that the Churches should hold any correspondence with England in these times; and so the letters still lie, and the Churches not acquainted with them, and not known what may become of this matter." Baillie (ii, 170) describes the French Protestants as "so much courtiers as they will not (help us in) the half they dare and might; policy and prudence so far keeps down their charity and zeal." The Assembly reported the position to the Commons and requested an order from them that the letters should be printed, "if to their wisdom it shall become meet." Next day (as already stated) the order for the printing was given. Some months later Baillie (ii, 186) remarks to Spang, "With what art and diligence that general letter to all the Churches was gotten, I know."

On 2 April, 1644, it was resolved, on the motion of Byfield, at the request of merchants travelling in those countries, to send signed copies by them to "the Protestant Churches in Transylvania, Poland, Sweden, and others." Lightfoot records that on 20 December, 1643, John Dury's letter from the Hague was read, announcing that he was coming to

England, and that Oxenstiern, Chancellor of Sweden, had taken an oath to promote reconciliation among Protestants.

The French congregation in London brought its troubles to the Assembly. On 22 December, 1643, two members, one a doctor and the other an ex-monk, had "made a fearful rent and schism in their church," and were beginning to gather churches of their own. The French authorities requested the Assembly to present their complaint to Parliament. Their petition was sympathetically received, and a committee appointed. The committee (29 December) found it "a matter of very much concerning," and recommended its being promptly reported to the Commons. Nothing further occurs in the minutes or in Lightfoot; but on 5 April, 1644, the Divines presented to the Commons a petition from the French Church in London. The House decided to consider it promptly, but failed to do so.

On 22 February, 1643–4, Burges "moved concerning a grave Grecian minister who hath suffered exceeding much in his own country, that some course might be taken for his good"; but nothing more was said or done about him.

The letter "to the Classes and Churches" of Hesse seems to have been misdelivered to the Lutheran Church there, instead of to the Reformed. Gillespie tells (p. 49) how the reply was signed by "a superintendent, a dean, an archdean, some pastors and some deacons," and that it "warned the Assembly not to be sudden in casting out episcopal government," because all change was dangerous. Some of the Divines thought that the Calvinists in Hesse had no classes, and that this, though it was, as Henderson called it "the company of a cathedral church," yet might be from the correct recipients. Baillie (ii, 165) styles it "but a poor short epistle, all spent upon lamenting their own miseries, and in the little they spoke to our point giving us unseasonable and very unsavoury counsel not to meddle with bishops." The minutes report merely that the letter was read.

When a letter from the Churches of Zealand arrived, delivered by Calendrin, minister of the Dutch Church in London (29 April, 1644), the Assembly debated whether they should open it, and finally decided to do so. They then took the cautious resolve to appoint a committee "to consider of the letter, and that from the Classis of Walcheren, what is fit to be done about these letters, either in reference to the Parliament, or to the churches from whence they came, and to make report to the Assembly." Lightfoot and Gillespie tell us that the Zealand letter, like the Walcheren one, expressed dislike of the *"Apologetical*

Narration" of the Independents. A week later the question was complicated by the appearance of a pamphlet *"M.S. to A.S.,"* which was also referred to the same committee (6 May) to report anything in it which reflected either upon the Assembly, the Scots Commissioners, or the Walcheren Classis. It was by John Goodwin of Coleman Street.

Baillie naturally welcomes this communication from the Netherlands Presbyterians, for he had been urging Spang to get something of the sort done; he now urges that the Zealand letter and the Walcheren one should be printed abroad, because "doubtless the point of the magistrate will hinder the printing of it here" (ii, 174). The letter was strongly anti-Erastian; Gillespie (p. 56) records that it said "If there shall be appellation by the dissenting brethren from the Assembly to the magistrate, they shall change *episcopos,* but not *episcopatum."* Baillie writes (3 May), "A committee is appointed, not only to translate and transmit it to the Houses as the former, but to think of an answer; which, according to their woful way, cannot be expected for some months." His forecast seems to have been right. On 31 May, he apologises to Spang (ii, 186) for the absence of an answer. "As for the Synod's acceptance of your Zealand letter, I assure you, after it was read, Mr. Calandrin was called in, and it was solemnly declared to him by the prolocutor how thankfully the Assembly took it, and how much they were obliged for it. As for returning an answer, they have no power to write one line to any soul, but as the Parliament directs; neither may they importune the Parliament for warrants to keep foreign correspondence. . . . So their not answering comes on no neglect, I know very well." On 19 June, the Lords agreed to five letters to the United Provinces, but it does not appear whether these had been drafted by the Assembly.

A letter from the Classis of Amsterdam was presented on 1 July, 1644, by Mr. Cursollis. This was referred to the same committe, "to make report upon Friday next." Baillie reports (ii, 202) on 12 July that "we are doing what we can to get leave to answer" the three letters; but nothing occurs in the minutes before then, nor does Lightfoot mention anything.

On 19 July, 1644, a letter from the Church of Hanau was brought by Mr. Wakerley. On 7 August, a letter from the Hague was brought in by Strickland and read. Baillie (ii, 218) described it as "a kind letter from the Synod of Holland." It was read and they adjourned. Little wonder that a fortnight later Rutherford said in the Assembly that the eyes of all the Reformed Churches were upon it. They had had letters also from Switzerland and from Germany.

On 18 September, a letter arrived from the Church of North Holland, and was read. The next day one came from Guelderland, and similarly on 14 October, one from Utrecht. Baillie's comment (ii, 239) shews how eagerly the Presbyterians in the Assembly desired the support of their Reformed brethren abroad. "The letter of the Synod of Utrecht was read the other day in the Assembly, but had not one word either of Episcopacy or Independency. We would have expected other things from Voetius. . . . Rivet, in all our controversies, resolves to be mute and silent also; yet Moulin has written very honestly his mind; but Diodati and the Parisians are not as we expected. The Switzers, and lately the rest of Geneva's divines have given us satisfaction." This refers to a letter from Switzerland, brought on 6 June by "an elder of the French Church." It was referred to the same committee, with instructions to translate it forthwith. A second copy of this same letter arrived just a week later, along with a letter from the Church of Geneva, which was similarly dealth with. These letters said that reports were rife abroad as to the disloyalty of the Assembly, but that they believed in its innocence, heartily commiserated its case, and encouraged it in its work.

When news arrived, on 21 June, 1644, that the Church at Bremen felt hurt because the Assembly had omitted it in their letters, the Divines ordered a copy of their circular letter to be sent to it with an apology, and de la March took the opportunity of pressing for a reply to the Swiss Churches.

On 4 December, 1644, a copy of Apollonii's book, *"Consideratio quarundam Controversiarum ad Regimen Ecclesiae spectantium, quae in Angliae Regno hodie agitantur,"* was given to every member of the Assembly. Mr. Calendrin, with two of his elders, came to present the book, along with a prefatory letter from the Walcheren Classis, at whose request Apollonii had written it. The letter was read, and they were verbally thanked. Baillie, always in touch with Holland through Spang, wrote to him thus (ii, 245):

The letter of your Classis before Mr. Apollonius' book was read the other day, and a printed copy of his book given to every member of the Assembly. It was not only very well taken, but also, which is singular, and so far as I remember *absque exemplo,* it was ordered *nemine contradicente* to write a letter of thanks to Apollonius. Surely he has done a piece of good service to God and His churches here. I have not yet had leisure to read it all [he was writing only the next day but one] but I approve what I have read.

The Assembly went even further, for when Apollonii was in England the following summer it desired him to come "to receive public thanks in the name of the Assembly by the prolocutor."

On 30 December, 1644, a letter from a minister in Zurich was read. There is no information as to its nature, nor as to any action.

On 3 January, 1644–5, the Commons ordered that a letter should be written to the Dutch churches, with thanks for their contributions for the help of Ireland. On 16 January, a draft letter was submitted to the Assembly by Hoyle; the House of Commons was to be informed, and to be asked that it might be sent in the name of the Assembly "to the several Classes in Holland," and that the parliamentary agents in Holland might be informed of its dispatch.

On 27 March, 1646, a letter was brought from Sir Theodore Mayherne asking the approbation of the Assembly for M. Deperier to be admitted to a French church. The Assembly informed Sir Theodore that this was not a matter for it, but for "the ministers of the French Church beside the Exchange."

On 6 November, 1646, the Lords, in sending the Part of the Confession of Faith to the Commons, added "It being necessary that the Protestant Churches abroad, as well as the people of this kingdom at home, may have knowledge how that the Parliament did never intend to innovate matters of faith."

On 30 April, 1647, a letter from Utrecht about Mr. Remington was read; an answer was drawn up a week later. A Mr. Remington was "approved upon his former examination" on 5 October, 1647.

On 21 May, 1647, a letter from the divines of Zurich was read; a committee, with Marshall as chairman, was appointed; and again on 14 March, 1647–8, a letter, "the same that was sent before" was read.

Chapter VI

PROCEDURE

Many little details of human interest crop up in regard to procedure in the Assembly. Baillie's account of its sittings after it had moved into the Jerusalem Chamber has been often quoted, and is too well known to need reproduction here. The Divines met at first in Henry VII's Chapel in the Abbey, but on 2 October, 1643 (the Commons having given permission on 21 September), they transferred their meetings to the Jerusalem Chamber, where they remained thereafter. On 11 November, it is recorded that a fire is to be provided, for which every member was to subscribe twelve pence. Baillie (ii, 108) remarks that this is "some dainties in London," and tells how the Lords took the privilege of sitting around it. On 18 December, "there was a motion made by Carter, senr., for the collection of something towards the doorkeeper and porter, but nothing was done in it." A few days later (22 December) Gouge renewed the suggestion, and it was agreed to; but Lightfoot does not record the result, nor is this "Christmas box" mentioned in the minutes.

On Friday, 22 December, the question of a Christmas Day sitting was raised. The Scots were strongly for it. "We found sundry willing to follow our advice," writes Baillie (ii, 120) "but the most resolved to preach that day, till the Parliament should reform it in an orderly way." They did not decide whether there should be a sermon, "because we are not yet come to it." Some members wanted to sit on the Monday, Christmas Day, as usual, but in the end they adjourned till Thursday, as Wednesday was the monthly fast day. The city members met to consider whether they should preach on Christmas Day or not; Lightfoot tells us that Calamy was going to advise them against it, but that he prevailed on him not to do so. All but four or five decided to preach, but "to cry down the superstition of the day." So the Assembly did not sit. The 25th of December, 1644, was the day of the monthly fast; on Christmas Day, 1645, and 1646, the Assembly sat; Christmas 1647 was on a Saturday, and by Christmas, 1648, they were having only one sitting a week.

There was trouble in the City at Christmas, 1647. The previous year a number of shopkeepers had been abused for keeping open, as ordered by Parliament, on Christmas Day. They petitioned the Commons for protection if they did the same this year. But they were only

a small minority; Whitelocke (p. 286) says "Christmas Day the shops were all shut up in London, nothwithstanding the ordinance to the contrary." Some "delinquent ministers" had preached and used the Prayer Book, and power was given to the Committee of Plundered Ministers to deal with them.

The procedure of the Assembly was governed by certain fundamental rules laid down by Parliament, which they received before beginning their business. They are as follows:

"1. That two assessors be joined to the prolocutor, to supply his place in case of absence or infirmity."

Twisse was not in good health, and his attendance was irregular. As early as 19 September, 1643, the Assembly resolved that in his absence the assessors should preside in turn. After Palmer's death in October, 1647, a motion was made on 12 November for a new appointment. Gouge was elected assessor on 26 November, and was called to the chair on the 30th.

"2. Two scribes to be appointed to set down all proceedings; and these to be divines who are not members of the Assembly, viz., Henry Roborough and Adoniram Byfield."

Though not members of Assembly, they were on 7 November, 1643, accorded the privilege of sitting with their hats on. The work of recording the orders and certificates about ministers recommended for livings was more than they could reasonably manage; the Assembly therefore on 26 October, 1643, applied to Parliament to give them an "amanuensis." A Mr. Brooks, "keeper of the monuments," had apparently been doing this work, probably without any formal appointment, and the Assembly had been rather annoyed at his venturing to come in during their debates. They asked Parliament, however, to remunerate him for what he had done. The request for an amanuensis was not sent up to Parliament till 24 November, when Burges reported that it had been agreed to; but it was not till 16 December that Parliament made the nomination of John Wallis, who was a sort of Admirable Crichton of learning; and on the 20th he took his place, and "read his oath, which was in Latin."

"3. Every member at his first entrance into the Assembly shall make a serious and solemn protestation not to maintain anything but what he believes to be the truth, and to embrace truth in sincerity, when discovered to him."

The Commons prescribed the wording of this protestation, and added a phrase about "the glory of God and the good and peace of the church."

It was duly taken by all members. On Monday, 16 September, 1644, Salloway moved that it be read over once a week. It is recorded as being read on the 23rd, 30th, and on October 7th, 14th, and 28th. (The Assembly did not sit on 21 October.) The minutes do not record the reading thereafter, probably because a record of this regular procedure was not thought necessary. Hetherington (p. 110) says that it was read aloud every Monday morning.

"4. No resolution to be given upon any question on the same day wherein it is first propounded."

When one reads the prolonged and involved debates, this sounds ironical; but there were instances of agreed action in which the formal decision was deferred in accordance with this rule. Lightfoot tells how, on 8 August, 1644, it "cost some time" to decide whether a "question proposed yesterday might be proposed again." Burges had suggested this, and it was finally voted in the affirmative.

In the rules as originally drafted by the Lords on 29 June there was an additional one at this point: "No long speeches to be permitted, that matters may not be carried by impertinent flourishes; but all debates to be by way of argument, soberly and gravely managed." On 6 July, the Commons objected to this rule, and the Lords dropped it. Probably they hoped that the powers given to the prolocutor in Rule 6 would, if firmly used, check such oratory. But, as will be seen later in this chapter, some members, the Scots especially, thought there was too much of this very kind of speaking.

5. What any man undertakes to prove as necessary, he shall make good out of scripture."

This proved to be the source of many difficulties, which are related in other chapters. Lightfoot tells how (9 February, 1644) Burroughes "alleged Dr. Fulke for his side, and Aretius, and Jesuits themselves; but he was cried down, for that we are not to be swayed by commentators, but by the word of the scriptures." Henderson, however, had said "that if they begin to heap up authors, let us do so too, and we shall outvie them." It is well known that the Confession of Faith was at first sent up without the scripture proofs, and that the Commons insisted on their being added. Whitelocke (p. 68) gives a vivid picture of procedure: "Sometimes when they had cited a text of scripture to prove their assertion, Selden would tell them 'Perhaps in your little pocket Bibles with gilt leaves' (which they would often pull out and read) 'the translation may be thus, but the Greek or the Hebrew signifies thus and thus,' and so would totally subdue them." It must be remembered that

there were many eminent Greek and Hebrew scholars among the Divines, so that this picture must not be taken too literally.

"6. No man to proceed in any dispute after the prolocutor hath enjoined him silence, unless the Assembly desire he may go on."

"7. No man to be denied to enter his dissent from the Assembly and his reasons for it, in any point, after it hath first been debated in the Assembly; and thence, if the dissenting party desire it, to be sent to the Houses of Parliament by the Assembly (not by any particular man or men in a private way) when either House shall require it."

The precise correlation between the desire of the dissenting person and the requiring by Parliament is not elucidated; but the position is clearly Erastian, and the status of the Assembly as subordinate to Parliament is unmistakable. This rule soon caused trouble, in the case of Burges, related elsewhere.

"8. All things agreed on, and prepared for the Parliament, to be openly read and allowed in the Assembly; and then offered as the judgment of the Assembly, if the major part assent; provided that the opinion of any person dissenting, and the reasons urged for it, be annexed thereunto (if the dissenters require it) together with the solutions (if any were) given in the Assembly to these reasons."

This eminently reasonable provision was worked to the limit by the small minority known as the "Dissenting Brethren." They had a reputation beyond the Assembly for intractability; Dury says of them, "I never could find any reciprocation on their part, even when they have been entreated to do so" (*Epistolary Discourse,* 1644; p. 17). Difficulties arose as to the detailed application of the rule, and were discussed somewhat hotly. When the *Form of Church Government* was about to be sent up on 7 November, 1644, Nye raised the question of entering a dissent. "There was much debate about the time when the dissent should be entered, and it was moved that now such as did dissent should name themselves." Nye gave a dissent with reasons, Carter apparently a simple dissent, and Burroughes a dissent with conditions, which was not accepted. It was then moved "that a time should be assigned them for bringing in of their reasons, but Mr. Nye said he had entered his dissent, but it was in his liberty whether to bring in reasons for it or no." This was evidently irrelevant to the question of a time limit if he did desire to submit reasons. The motion was evidently passed, for it was "in obedience to that order" that Goodwin tendered reasons on 14 November. After debate it was decided to read the reasons next day, when accordingly Goodwin read them. They were

criticised as raising points which they had not raised in the Assembly debates, and so really being a new set of arguments; and a committee of twelve was appointed to meet that afternoon.

Such were the parliamentary rules. On 28 September, 1643, the Assembly appointed a committee to form "some orders for the most orderly proceeding," additional, of course, to these. Burges reported for the committee on 4 October, and the report was discussed next day. The knotty point was freedom of debate. The procedure of "a committee of the whole" (with the precedent of the House of Commons) was discussed. It proved useful later, when they failed to get a quorum, and for such a purpose as reading the metrical Psalms. The "much disputation" of the council of Jerusalem and of subsequent councils was adduced. Hoyle desired that "some care be had that there be not too much prolixity," which led to a reference to the power of the prolocutor to stop men, and of the Assembly to permit them to continue, which had been provided in the parliamentary rules. Goodwin told them that they would have "to beat out the truth of things of great moment," and that men must have the right to implement their oath, and "maintain what they think in their conscience to be truth"; he foresaw the danger "when one part may be few, the other more." Wilson sympathised with him. Burges bluntly remarked, in practical vein, that there was "no thought or purpose to stop any man from a full hearing; but the point is, What is a full hearing?" After further discussion, Burroughes interjected the remark, "We see by this debate what need there is of liberty of speech." Procedure in General Councils was again quoted; and the debate was proceeding when Sir John Clotworthy came with a message from the Commons which required attention. There is no record in the minutes of a decision being taken, and Lightfoot, strange to say, makes no mention of this debate at all. The rules (doubtless the parliamentary ones) were read on the first Monday of each month.

The need for such rules, and for their observance, is indicated by some of Baillie's remarks when he first saw the Assembly's procedure. "They harangue long and very learnedly . . . only their longsomeness is woful at this time, when their church and kingdom lies under a most lamentable anarchy and confusion. They see the hurt of their length, but cannot get it helped" (ii, 109). Frequency of speaking was sometimes criticised, as on 2 September, 1644, during the discussion on ordination; and on 19 September, Palmer desired that there should be some limited time and a limit how often a man should speak, and when the question should be put. Two days earlier, in the course of the dis-

cussion, Gillespie had remarked, "I desire that you would so order your debates as not to go backwards," an evident reference to speaking more than once to the same point. When Baillie left the Assembly in January 1647, he gave Spang a summary of his experience; one remark (iii, 3) is that "of those few that use to speak, sundry are so tedious and thrust themselves in with such misregard of others, that it were better for them to be silent."

The business always seemed to be going slowly. Baillie was troubled about this, and refers frequently to it. On 20 March, 1644, he writes (ii, 149), "For hasting of the Assembly we get many messages from the Houses; but all they can do is to sit all the days of the week but Saturday and Sunday, till one or two o'clock, and twice a week also in the afternoon; the other afternoons are for committees. However their speed be small, yet their labour is exceeding great." He was so troubled that in the Epistle Dedicatory to Rous, prefixed to a sermon, he referred to it at length and in strong terms. The sermon was preached on 28 February, 1643–4, and is called *"Satan the Leader in chief to all who resist the Reparation of Sion";* it is on Zech. iii: I, 2.

At the building of a royal palace, where much rubbish is to be removed by many hands, where timber, stones and other materials are to be brought together and set in the work by a multitude of divers craftsmen, no marvel if in that place for a time there be much noise and stir, much commotion, and some confusion also. . . . The extraordinary and unexpected delays of setting up the government of God in His house. . . . The ordering of the state and kingdom, how necessary soever, ought not to precede the settling of the church. . . . If these points of government, of worship, of doctrine, which are yet before us be handled as those that are behind us, which in themselves are far less considerable than many of the former; if every opponent must be heard upon every point, to object, to reply, to double, to triple his exceptions (as I know no reason why it must not be so, if we proceed in an equable pace, and our motions to come be of a length proportionable to those that are past): this course, I say, if constantly kept, cannot but hold us in hewing of our stones more than a week of years, before we begin to lay so much as the foundation of our building. . . . It cannot without injury be denied that the endeavours of this noble Senate for the house of God have been greater than any Parliament we ever read of in this land; that notwithstanding their excessive labours the work is not yet near an end, it must be imputed to others rather than to them. . . . [He would be writing differently at a later period.] No Protestant church to this day did ever stay half the time in purging the whole body of religion in doctrine, worship, discipline and all, as this land hath already spent on some few points of discipline alone.

He could not be charged with imitating the English divines of whom he wrote (ii, 221) that they spoke before Parliament "with so profound a reverence as truly took all edge from their exhortations, and made all applications to them toothless and adulatorious." He records with satisfaction (ii, 157) that this "has put some edge on the Assembly for quicker dispatch; but the nature itself of their way is so wofully longsome that it is almost impossible to be shortened." A few days later he writes (ii, 164), "Nothing in any Assembly that ever was in the world, except Trent, is like to them in prolixity." Baillie was not the only one who felt this; on 8 October, 1644, Sir Charles Erskine writes that the Assembly had made great progress, more in the last week than in a twelvemonth before. (*Hist. Mss. Comm.*, iv, 522.) These Scots were accustomed to much more businesslike procedure in their General Assembly, but then the nature of the debates was different.

On 1 May, 1644, the Commons sent an order "for expedition." The Divines agreed that prayers should be at half past eight, and that any one who came later should be fined sixpence. They discussed a fine of twelve pence for anyone absent for the day, but came to no resolution. Yet the urge of the Commons probably had some effect, for at the end of the month Baillie writes (ii, 187), "If we continue this race we will amend our former infamous slowness," and a week later (ii, 191), "Our progress in the Assembly, albeit slow, yet, blessed be God, is sensible daily." But apparently this did not last, for on 23 July he writes (ii, 211), "We cannot win through for a long time, after our common pace." As a matter of fact even the slow pace had been too hot, and shortly after this they had a fortnight's adjournment.

When Maitland and Warriston returned on 14 August, 1644, the latter told of the "general desire of all the nation of Scotland for the hastening of the work in hand." Burges seized the opportunity: "This must make us more studious," he said, "to find out a more compendious way to ending our business." Henderson "spoke to the same purpose." The whole question was discussed two days later, when Seaman said that the grand committee was to deal with the subject on the 19th, and Henderson then suggested that a committee of Assembly should present a report to it. Temple made a remark which a perusal of the minutes shews to be justified; "One cause of our slow proceeding is our inconstancy; let us go through with whatsoever we undertake." Baillie rejoices (ii, 221): "We have gotten it to be the work of the Assembly itself to do no other thing till they have found out ways of accelerating." His "we," as always, means the Scots.

Still all was not quite right. On 13 September, 1644, when the Assembly was discussing presbyterial government, Bridge made the picturesque remark, "I desire we may not stand too long in the porch, as our usual custom is." On 14 October, 1644, the Assembly heard a stern rebuke from the Earl of Pembroke. "I am sorry to hear and see that disputations of learning, wit, and language delay the time; we are not here to satisfy particular men's ways and humours, but are appointed to settle the government according to the true word of God. I have told you that the kingdom was on fire; it will be the burning of our consciences and souls if we do not settle a government. Shorten the time all you can; we cannot recall time agone."

On the other hand, on 1 December, 1644, Baillie writes (ii, 244), "Believe it, for as slow as you may think us and as we pronounce ourselves to be, yet all the days of the week we are pretty busy. We sit daily from nine till near one; and afternoon till night we are usually in committees. Saturday, our only free day, is to prepare for Sunday, wherein we seldom 'vaick' from preaching in some eminent place of the City."

Regularity of attendance left something to be wished for. As early as 31 July, 1643, the Commons asked for a return of those who had not attended, those who had only come once or twice, and those who sent letters of excuse. (The return was made on 22 August.) Doubtless this was to discover which members had been influenced by the king's proclamation of 22 June against the Assembly. In it he had stated that Convocation was still in being, had said that most of the Divines were "of no reputation or learning, and notoriously disaffected," and had declared that "no act done by them is valid." "Archbishop Ussher, Dr. Prideaux, Dr. Ward, Dr. Browning, Dr. Holdsworth, and Dr. Harris, and others well affected to the discipline and liturgy of the Church of England were daily expected at the Synod, and some of them excused their necessary absence for a time by letters to the prolocutor" (Featley, *Sacra Nemesis,* p. 88). But on 1 February, 1643–4, it was said at Oxford that "four of the Westminster Convenanters are come unto us, and more are expected daily" (*S.P. Dom.* D., 30). The return was made to the House on 22 August. Two months later (23 October) the Commons ordered nineteen men by name to attend within a fortnight. Two of them, Mew and Wincop, attended and took a share in the work. The other seventeen were all royalists; nine of them are included among Walker's "Sufferers," three of whom attained bishoprics after the Restoration.

The position in regard to attendance was discussed in the Assembly on 28 September. Burges said, "Many are engaged in preaching, yet I hope no man will take upon him an engagement that shall disable him from attendance on this service." It was suggested "let those that come late be accounted as not at all," and so presumably not entitled to remuneration for that day. A daily roll-call was mooted, the result to be reported weekly or fortnightly to Parliament. The Assembly went no farther, however, than to resolve that those who were not there at the opening of the session "shall give an account of their absence or late coming." The calling of the roll was done at intervals, and the relation of attendance to pay is told in the chapter on "Payment of Members." On 11 November, 1644, it was ordered "that the names of members be exactly taken notice of for the time to come," and the scribes were ordered to report the names of those "that appear in their books to be diligent in attending." Evidently the important word in the resolution is "exactly," for records had been kept. Indeed there is a note (22 July, 1644) of Temple "aspersing" the scribes for "not setting down his name."

There was clearly difficulty in maintaining a quorum. On 12 October, 1643, members were forbidden to leave "to give a certificate to any minister, except there be a full Assembly without them." On 28 March, 1644, Palmer was moved to say, "It is a great scandal that we are so backward in coming, and so forward in going." Burges supported him, and said that some action should be taken to secure that members attend better. No actual resolution was passed. On 29 May, 1644, "there wanted one to make an Assembly; upon occasion thereof a motion was made to have some course taken for the preventing of it"; and on 3 June they ordered a petition to be sent to Parliament "that some course may be taken to cause the members of this Assembly to come more frequently."

But this trouble continued; on 28 March, 1645, Marshall said that late arrival caused great loss of time, and suggested meeting first in the morning as a committee. Again no actual action seems to have been taken. A committee on this subject reported on 14 July, and it was resolved to send names of defaulters to Parliament, and to suggest adding new members. This also does not seem to have matured. On 25 July, the scribes were instructed to write to absentees requesting their attendance, and similar action was taken on 1 May, 1646, on 9 September, 1647, and on 1 May, 1648. On 22 December, 1645, so many members left early that the Assembly had to adjourn; this was not a

Christmas holiday spirit, for the Assembly met on Christmas Day: it may have been from illness, for there were a number of sick members visited about this time. On 27 July, 1646, there being no quorum, they sat as a committee, and the same happened on several occasions between 20 August and 1 September, and on 28 September and 2 October. One may perhaps infer that on other occasions the Assembly narrowly escaped this fate.

On 6 October, 1646, the order of Parliament of 4 December, 1645, (for attendance at full session or no pay) was ordered to be strictly observed; once more the scribes were to keep a careful record, and "the names of the most negligent shall be reported to both Houses of Parliament." On 29 October, a committee reported, with the list of absentees and their excuses; this was recommitted. On 27 May, 1647, it was ordered "that the Assembly do constantly sit at nine o'clock, and that the scribes do, to that end, attend to call names." On 15 November, 1647, it was resolved that members who "entered their presence," and without leave, went away before the end of a session should be accounted as absent for that day.

The hours of meeting, and the distribution of the time between the Assembly and its committees demanded consideration. On 28 September, 1643, it was ordered that the Assembly meet at ten o'clock, "the uttermost hour." But in December Baillie writes (ii, 108), "We sit commonly from nine to one or two afternoon." On 13 March, 1643–4, Gouge "moved for our speedy meeting in the morning," perhaps because the mornings were getting lighter. No action is recorded at the time; but next day Burges, being in the chair, repeated the suggestion, and it was ordered that "there be no sermon in the Assembly after nine o'clock"; probably unpunctuality in beginning the trial sermon at the hour of eight had led to their overpassing nine. On 21 March, there was an "admonition to members for coming late." It was moved that they should meet at eight o'clock, and though Nye "opposed it exceeding scornfully," it was carried by 23 to 17. Again on 16 April, 1644, there was some complaint about "our coming so late."

On 14 August, 1644, only a week after the fortnight's adjournment, there was "some debate about sitting in the afternoon, but nothing determined." On 19 September, Temple moved that the Assembly no longer sat apart one day a week "for our own private employments."

On 4 September, 1646, it was resolved that they should sit in the afternoon on and after the 9th. They were then hard at work on the Confession. Ten members undertook to come, not very many towards

a quorum of forty. But this spirit could not last; on 2 October, Baillie writes (ii, 400) with his customary pawkiness, "The Assembly obliged themselves by promise to sit before and after noon for some time; but now, thinking they have satisfied the Houses by sending up the half of the Confession, the first nineteen heads, they are relapsed into their former negligence. So we will be able few days in a week to make an Assembly; for if there be one fewer than forty it is no meeting." And on 13 October he put the position in the crisp phrase (ii, 403), "Our Assembly for one twenty days posted hard, but since has gotten into its old pace."

On 10 February, 1647–8, when they were preparing the scripture proofs for the Shorter Catechism, they adjourned to let the three committees get to work; but they met as usual the next day. On 5 May, 1648, they resolved by 20 to 14, with three dissents, to sit only three days in each of the next two weeks, and on 4 October to sit two days a week (Wednesday and Thursday) till further order. (There had been only one meeting a week for two or three weeks before that.) This was not strictly kept, for there were Friday sittings also in the next two weeks. The number of ministers to be examined was very variable, from a minimum of two to a maximum of thirteen in a week; during the eight weeks preceding this resolution only 30 names are recorded at 14 settings, but during the next eight weeks there are 60 at 18 sittings. In February, 1648–9, the sittings were reduced, without any definite resolution, to a single one a week.

The numbers of the votes are recorded on many occasions (though not every time when there were two proposals). It is evident that there were always many who abstained from voting, if a quorum of forty had to be present. The highest recorded vote is 53, on church government (7 July, 1646), the lowest, except once on the matter of a certificate, is 21, on the appointment of a committee (20 August, 1644). Out of fifty divisions with the number recorded all but twelve have less than forty voters; the average, however, works out as high as 34. Upon several occasions the votes were equal, and the prolocutor gave the casting vote.

In answering the questions set them by Parliament, described by Baillie (ii, 378) as "very captious questions . . . about the clear scriptural warrant for all the punctilioes of the (church) government," some members of the first committee dissociated themselves from its report (1 July, 1646). The Assembly, which was in a difficult mood, took the curious course of dropping them out of the committee, and forming the

others into a committee to continue the work. It was very needful to have clear voting, and it was also necessary to have a "salvo" for those who could not fully concur. On 2 July, it was resolved that "the several subscriptions at the close of the several articles or branches of them are not to be interpreted as assent by each of them that do subscribe to every particular clause or proof [these last two words were added on 7 July] in the answer but to the sufficiency of the proof of that answer. This to remain as a memorandum in the scribes' book." On 7 July, it was resolved that in voting on these nine questions from Parliament the names of members should be taken and their votes read to the Assembly. Then the members who voted for the negative shall bring in their positive"; the two were to be referred to a committee; "those that are negative to consider how far they may agree"; a report to be made to the Assembly. Thus every opportunity was given to the minority. Six such votes are recorded; the votes in the negative were only four in all: (1) Lightfoot, (2) Nye, (3) None, (4) Seaman, (5) None, (6) None, but Goodwin, Burroughes and Carter, junr., forbore to vote "till they see the scope of it." It does not appear that the committee to deal with these negatives was ever appointed, possibly because their number was so small.

The afternoons were given to committee work, and of course every member was on one of the three grand committees, while any member might, if he so pleased, attend the other two (*Baillie,* ii, 108). Time was so precious that as early as 28 September, 1643, Seaman said, "The Assembly sits too seldom; committees may be less; four may do it as well as twenty-four." Goodwin and Price supported this, and Price also suggested that the Assembly should meet only from Monday to Thursday, Friday to be a committee day. This was not made a rule, but they sometimes adjourned from a Thursday to the Monday. On 14 November, a new device was tried, Marshall moving that committees should not meet on Tuesdays or Thursdays except in case of urgency. The size of committees was considered; when on 26 February, 1643–4, a committee to draft an urgent letter was appointed five were named, but "it was thought that the fewer men would make the more speed," and the number was reduced to two. Lightfoot tells us that the attendance at the three grand commitees was poor (p. 79).

When the Assembly had sat continuously for more than a year, it was weary, and "earnest for a little relaxation," says Baillie (ii, 213), and though some members desired to finish off the items of business which were in progress before adjoining, "the dog-days and the fasting

week [by which he means the week of the fast day] coming on, and the particular affairs of divers of our members, admitted of no delay." So, on Monday, 22 July, they asked and obtained leave from the Houses to adjourn till the Wednesday fortnight. The resolution of the Commons was a bare permission; in giving their consent the Lords thanked the Divines for "their great pains in sitting for so long without intermission." The Assembly made arrangements for its committee for the examination of ministers to sit, but approvals were to wait for the full Assembly. The whole thing was put through quickly; Lightfoot, who had been absent at his parish, reached town on the Monday afternoon only to find that he might have stayed away another fifteen days.

Thereafter the Assembly continued to sit summer and winter at least two days each week, and generally four or five. Owing to the lack of quorum in one of the three committees, its report could not be considered (8 September, 1645); so a discussion arose as to lessening the quorum of committees, and by 21 votes to 13 it was resolved to do this; after a quorum of seven had been rejected by 19 votes to 14, one of six was proposed; the votes were 18 for and 18 against; the prolocutor cast his vote for it. The Assembly also instructed chairmen of committees when reporting to state who had been present; and said that the hour of meeting was two o'clock, and that if there were not a quorum by three o'clock they were to rise, and to report the names of those who had been present. This hour was evidently not strictly observed, for on 29 December, 1645, it was ordered that "the committees do meet in the afternoons according to order, and not at dinner time." This seems to imply that members had preferred to hold a meeting immediately upon the rising of the Assembly, get their work done, and then get their food; such a procedure would doubtless lead to haste and curtailment of the committee business. On 30 June, 1646, an urgent meeting of the first committee was ordered for that afternoon, and as there was a risk of no quorum, it was resolved that "all that come may have votes."

In July 1646, the Divines were faced with the prospect of both a fast day and a thanksgiving day in one week. After considerable discussion they finally resolved (10 July) to adjourn over the first four days of the week. This was the time when they were very busy with the answers to the Parliament's nine questions.

On 7 June, 1648, there was a question put "about a committee for adjourning," but they went on five days a week, chiefly occupied in the examination of ministers. (During part of May there had been only two sessions a week.) On 31 July they resolved to consider (on 2

August) "how the members of the Assembly may improve their time better in the work of the Assembly, or about an adjournment." The debate took place, and no adjournment was decided upon.

Again and again the husbanding of time was urged, but not with great effect. Burges, with his responsibility as assessor, and his practical mind, was insistent on this, as has already been instanced. On 17 November, 1643, he desired to consider "how we may husband time," and on 19 December he remarked that there were "divers committees of consequence that yet lie by and nothing is done in them." On 19 February, 1643–4, Nye suggested that they were choosing cases to discuss which had least light from scripture; "so they occasion the greatest agitation," and so, of course, expenditure of time. The matter was put in the hands of a commitee, and Burges gave in his report, which was discussed on 21 February. The Assembly was to meet on Wednesday and Friday, when the grand committees did not sit. The other two recommendations of this committee throw considerable light on the rather loose way in which the business had been conducted; they were calculated, no doubt to Burges' satisfaction, to strengthen the chairman's hand. "2. That every committee be required to state questions as clearly as possible, and as near as may be set down wherein any differ. 3. That none asperse other; nor pursue or answer any text or other matter brought in upon the bye."

One gets a strange picture of the conduct of some members from the regulations passed nearly eighteen months later (17 June, 1645). The members were not to bring in "books or papers to read privately" during the sitting; they were to "forbear private communication" and "ordinary going from one place to another"; if they did leave their places they were to remove their hats. The group of earnest members must have been annoyed by such conduct on the part of some others, who perhaps were bored by the intricacies and prolixity of debates in which they were listeners only, but had to be present to make a quorum. It was shortly thereafter that Baillie (ii, 291) described the proceedings as being at that time "only petty debates for alteration of words and transposition of propositions."

Among minor matters of procedure was a commendable suggestion (5 September, 1643) that no one should move for a recommittal of a report unless he submitted an alternative proposition. On 19 October, 1643, Ashurst, a member of Parliament but not of the Assembly, apologised for speaking, saying that he did not know whether he had liberty; but as he gave important information about the attitude of the Commons

to the question under consideration he was not only allowed to proceed, but his remarks were duly summarised by the scribe in the minutes. This incident suggests that members of Parliament must have been exceptions to the stern exclusion of all outsiders related by Baillie.

Calls to order have been mentioned in some other chapters. On 1 October, 1644, Nye was called to order because his speech was "not to answer anything said, but to bring a new argument." On 15 October, Goodwin was called to order for speaking too long.

Chapter VII

PAYMENT OF MEMBERS

Much was made by hostile pamphleteers of the daily stipend of four shillings voted to the Divines. "That great gorbellied idol, called the Assembly of Divines, is not ashamed in this time of state necessity to guzzle down and devour daily more at an ordinary meal than would make a feast for Bel and the Dragon; for besides their fat benefices forsooth they must have their four shillings a day, for sitting in constollidation." (*Arraignment of Mr. Persecution,* 1645.) "Their wages was in shillings, more each day than they had seen of pence before" (*Westminster College*). The synod "which hath sitten this five years, more for four shillings a day than for conscience' sake" (Jenkins, *Scourge for the Directory,* 1647). "Our presbyters' wives must go like ladies, with their silks and taffeta, some with their fans, and silver watches forsooth hung by their girdles" (*Martin's Echo*). In view of such jeers by their adversaries, the actual history is almost pathetic.

The payment was a reasonable enough thing. At first only very few of the Divines were dwelling in London; the Commons instructed some of its members to "prepare some convenient lodgings at the Dean's house, or some other vacant houses of the prebends, for the divines of the Assembly to live in," but whether free or at a rent is not stated. (*C. J.* iii, 144.) Funds for the payment of the allowance were to be provided out of sequestered estates. The Commons instructed that the scribes should be provided for (as a matter of fact both were included in the first distribution) "and likewise the verger of the church, and such others as attend constantly on the Assembly and their committees, and lose their maintenance formerly gotten by shewing the monuments" (*do.,* p. 202).

Payments were none too regularly made, and were not sufficient to go round. The Commons began as early as 9 August, 1643, to consider how they were to be made, and the first payment of £100 was distributed on 9 September, in sums of £5 each to twenty members. As the Assembly had already held some fifty sittings, this was not full payment even for these twenty men. A similar amount was paid on 30 October to another twenty. The selection was of those who "have most need thereof for supply of their present necessities." Most of them were from distant counties, in the North, and in the West Midlands; yet one was from London, one from Surrey, two from Kent, and three from

Herts. On 30 November, the Commons gave instructions for the preparation of "an ordinance for a weekly allowance to be made to the Divines of the Assembly, out of the sequestrations, or some other thing." The third payment (£400) took place at the end of the year; apparently Parliament entrusted Marshall and Calamy with its distribution, for on 3 January, 1643–4, Marshall gave an explanation to clear him and his colleague of partiality. It was an invidious job to decide between the claims of their needy brethren; the instructions of the Lords (5 December) clearly shewed that it was again an interim payment; it was to be "distributed amongst such of the Assembly of Divines whose necessities are most pressing, towards the payment of the daily allowances granted unto them by the ordinance of both Houses."

On 17 May, 1644, in the course of his sermon, Palmer referred to the Divines as "pinched with want and laden with reproach." On 7 June, the Assembly appointed a committee "to promote the business of supply for the members of Assembly with both Houses of Parliament", on the 13th it reported that a petition should be presented to Parliament, and that some member of the Commons should be got to move for a select committee, and that a committee of the Divines be appointed "to attend them when they see fit." Also "that the same committee shall take care for the charges of the Assembly." Lightfoot says that the report dealt with the "straits of some of the Assembly in regard of maintenance"; and at the end of June, Baillie writes (ii, 196), "very many of the Assembly are departed for want of means; the allowance promised by the Parliament is not paid." The Assembly accepted the report of the committee, and as the result of their petition the Commons resolved that £600 be paid to Marshall and Calamy "to be distributed among the Divines of the Assembly, according to their most important necessities." This was a tacit acknowledgment that their bargain as to stipend had not been properly implemented. The Commons asked the concurrence of the Lords for payment of this out of certain funds, which was obtained the same day. A committee of eleven Divines was appointed on the 21st, the money having arrived, for its distribution. On the same day, Burges reported that the Committee of Plundered Ministers had taken off certain taxes and liabilities from the Divines, and had instructed the "names of those members that want present maintenance [evidently meaning an incumbency] be sent into the House of Commons." Lightfoot tells us that this latter point "cost some debate, whether it were honourable and fit for the Assembly to do so; at last it was resolved to deal with the committee about this privately." The Committee of

Plundered Ministers had been instructed to find livings for members as far back as 21 October, 1643. The matter was evidently not satisfactorily dealt with, for on 24 October, 1644, a representation was again made of "the great taxes and extraordinary charges imposed upon the members of this Assembly beyond the rest of their neighbours." *"Martin's Echo"* sneers that the clergy "are freed from all charges and taxations," and all is laid upon the people; yet "those greedy wretches are not ashamed to exact their tithes, though they pluck it out of your children's mouths."

The Assembly was quite determined that its members should earn their pay. On 10 July, 1644, it had resolved that late coming or early departure should be "defalked out of their pay." Reasons in excuse were to be judged by the committee, but "in case of difficulty" it was to report to the Assembly. On 22 July, Temple "aspersed" the scribes for not writing down his name.

The payments by Parliament seem to have been distinctly better as time went on. On 12 August, 1644, the Lords agreed to another interim payment of £200 to those "whose necessities are most pressing." In January, 1644–5, Whitelocke records (p. 118) that "an order was made for provision for some of the Assembly of Divines, who had lost their means by the enemy." It is true that, as a result of a petition from the Divines on 8 January, the Committee of Revenue was ordered (15 January) to provide money out of the Archbishop of Canterbury's estate, but no payment was made until 2 April. It was at this time that the *"Sacred Decretall"* made the grossly exaggerated remark (possibly believed by the multitude) "we had better have . . . made our £40,400 Directory a Directory of £80,800."

On 2 April, 1645, the Commons arranged for £1000 to be paid, £500 from each of two different sources. On 25 May, the Assembly suggested that the revenues of Canterbury be appropriated to them, and regularly paid. Money, though voted, arrived but slowly, £100 on 7 April, £200 in August, the rest of the £1000 in November. During 1646, £2000 was received, during 1647, £2192 6s. 8d. The first payment recorded in the minutes that year was on 24 June, and on 17 May the Assembly had asked the assessors and the scribes to report "what is due in arrear to the Assembly," and had appointed a committee "to audit the accounts of the Assembly for all the members of it." Burges reported that same day as to the amount of arrears, but it is not recorded in the minutes. The grant on 24 June was £300, not a specially large one. In 1648, £1500 was paid, and in February, 1649, £300. Another £400 was paid

later on in the year, and a payment of £150 on 1 March, 1649–50. The only other payment noted after the demise of the Assembly on 26 October, 1649, is the following on 21 March, 1649–50: "That out of the £50 in Mr. Symbs [i.e. Simpson's] hands the members of the Assembly that have taken the engagement be satisfied according to their attendance at the last division." This would be part of the £150, unless it is perhaps an error for "£150."

As regards the distribution of the money, on 7 April, 1645, £20 was given to the prolocutor; Burges, Calamy, Marshall, and Spurstowe said that they did not wish to share in that distribution. They were no doubt among those to whom the *"Nativity of Sir John Presbyter"* sarcastically refers thus: "Considering your extreme need and want of necessaries, having but £24 a day, besides some pretty livings of a hundred, or two, or three a year." Three days later £20 was voted to Assessor White, who was absent from illness; a similar amount was paid to Reynolds on the 18th. Other special votes, in the same circumstances, were £15 to Corbet (2 May, 1645), and £10 "on account" to the prolocutor (2 September, 1645). On 4 December, 1645, the Commons Journals shew a grant of £100 to Twisse, and on 31 December a similar grant to Reynolds, both out of the Canterbury revenues. No notice occurs in the Assembly minutes, and it seems likely that these were not made for Assembly attendance, but for some other cause. On 26 June, 1646, three members were sent to visit the prolocutor, taking him £10, and "also to satisfy him that there hath been no money paid by any order of Parliament to his use that hath been detained from him."

On 13 August, 1645, it was ordered that members were to pay 2d. in the £1 to the scribe "for the charges." On 15 August, the distribution committee's report was amended before being approved, and it was asked to "bring in a further report of the equality for the future." An incomplete minute says, "Those members of the Assembly that do receive anything upon ticket as members of Assembly. . . ." On 13 October, £200 arrived, and another £300 was to arrive before long; next day the Assembly recommended that the whole should be equally divided among the members who attended, amounting to £6 per head. This would indicate a list of about eighty attending members. The £200 already received was to go to thirty members, presumably the more needy ones. On 17 November, the others were to receive their £6 each, "and then the rest of the £1000," which had been voted by the Commons as far back as April, "to be disposed of by the committee formerly appointed, and they to make report to the Assembly." On 4 December, the

Commons ordered members to be present the whole of the sitting, unless in case of sickness or other urgent necessity to be allowed by the Assembly, and said that payment should not be made to absentees.

On 20 April, 1646, there was £400 to distribute. The names were read without the sums, by instruction; but on a second vote, moved by Marshall "because integrity was questioned" the sums as well were read. It was resolved that in the next distribution all the widows of members should be considered; this indicates that some members had died with arrears owing to them. Similarly, on 9 February, 1646–7, it was ordered that two widows, Mrs. Nye and Mrs. Hall, should be considered at the next distribution.

On 20 April, 1646, the Assembly had resolved to move the Committee on the Revenue "that the money allotted to the Assembly may be henceforth distributed to all the members of the Assembly that are diligent in the attendance of the service of the Assembly, according to the orders of Parliament" and on 6 October it was moved "that those members of this Assembly that shall attend the service of this Assembly from this day forward shall be first considered in the distribution of money for the Assembly, according to their daily attendance." The names were to be returned by the scribes.

When £600 was available on 17 June, 1646, a new committee of twelve, with seven as a quorum, was appointed, and two days later its report was adopted without change. On 27 November, a similar committee of twelve (of whom five had been members of the June committee) was appointed, and reported three days later. This committee dealt with a further sum on 11 December, and reported on the 15th. The report was adopted, but the Assembly resolved "that the distribution of money for the time to come shall be exactly according to the presence or absence of members of the Assembly from this day forwards"; also that "no further question shall be put concerning this business."

The attendance was to be, according to the order of Parliament, from nine till noon, and the scribes were to read the record of attendance each Friday, after twelve. On 17 December, it was resolved, "In case any member of the Assembly go out of the Assembly during the sittings of it, and be called to stay by the prolocutor, and do not stay or give reason of his going out, to be approved by the Assembly, then he shall be reckoned as absent for the day." (Mitchell and Struthers think that these resolutions were not carried out, but give no evidence in support of their opinion.)

The same committee was charged with the distribution on later occasions till the end; its work was now easy, being strictly governed by rule. On 1 June, 1648, it was said that any member who was present might have a vote.

On 18 May, 1647, "the order of the Assembly for Mr. Byfield to receive from the Trustees the money for the Assembly was altered and agreed according to the desire of the Trustees"; the order had been received on 5 May; there is no indication what the change was. The accounts of the Trustees (*Shaw*, ii, 565) shew £600 paid the next day. By a special vote on 25 May, 1648, twenty-five members declared themselves "for their own parts willing that £50 shall be paid to Mr. de la Place out of the next money." (He had received a special payment of £10 on 31 March, 1645.) This was not easily adjusted; on 5 June the decision was "subscribe for the whole, and abate 12s. in the £1." This voluntary levy of more than half did not apparently reach the needed sum, so it was resolved that "the £7 remaining be added to him." There were arrears from the last distribution, but that business was deferred. On 22 August, 1648, the scribes were to certify the receipts and arrears of the deceased member, White.

On 1 February, 1648–9, when the regular sittings were nearing an end, and had for some months been only one a week, the minutes record that "Mr. Salloway and Mr. Corbet be desired to pray with the Lords and Commons till the Assembly can meet again to put that business in order; and they are to receive the allowance of the Assembly, 4s. a day, for the days of their attendance."

One may safely put the total of the payments at £9000 or a little over; the Assembly held 1197 sessions, and this would pay for an average attendance of 37 members; but we know that the sessions were considerably larger for most of the time. It is abundantly evident from the records that there was great difficulty in receiving the money regularly, and in distributing it fairly. Remembering, however, how hard pressed Parliament was to keep its war chest adequately supplied, one may wonder that the divines did not come off even worse.

Chapter VIII

DEVOTIONAL EXERCISES

There were of course the opening exercises each day; Featley, in his letter to Usher, said "The prolocutor's daily prayer was the best and truest diurnal, for that he had a special gift to pray not so much *ex tempore* as *de tempore*" (*Sacra Nemesis,* p. 9). At intervals the Assembly had in addition days of special devotions.

The first of these was Monday, 25 September, the day when the Commons and the Divines took the Covenant; they met in St. Margaret's Church, White leading in prayer, Nye speaking a word of exhortation, and Gouge concluding with prayer. Three weeks later (16 October) there was again a day of fasting and prayer, this time in their usual meeting place. It was from nine till four, and during these seven hours (probably not actually continuous) three men (Burges, Goodwin, and Staunton) prayed, and two (Palmer and Whitaker) preached. Lightfoot records that Burges' prayer took an hour, as did also Staunton's. There were four intervals of psalm-singing, but it is not recorded that Scripture was read; and Twisse concluded with prayer. There was a collection (£3 15s.) for maimed soldiers; but next day it was voted to be given to Mrs. Rood, widow of a minister, in straitened circumstances.

On 2 January, 1643–4, Lady Waller asked the prayers of the Assembly for her husband; the next day she reported the likelihood of the early fall of Arundel Castle, and desired that they should offer thanks. The success was not officially reported to the Commons till 8 January.

On 14 May, 1644, the Lord General, Essex, informed the Divines that he had appointed a fast for the army to be held three days later, and asked them to appoint preachers. They resolved, also at his request, to keep that day as an Assembly fast. Accordingly, Twisse opened with a brief prayer. Then, after singing part of Psalm xxvii, Marshall said, "Let me speak a few words." He declared that the nation "had not had so troublous times for many hundred years"; reminded them that they had been preserved in safety, and that upon them "the eyes, not only of the kingdom, but of all the churches in Christendom" were fixed. They had expected that much would have been done by now; but "for some cause or other it pleaseth God that we have had many a sad breach that we cannot drive on so cheerfully." That was reason enough for humiliation; let each one look into his own heart and

see whether he were to blame. Then there was "common and almost general apostasy in the kingdom"; had they done enough about that? If they did some heart-searching, then, said he, "we shall find more fruit of one day's musing than of many days' disputing." He then led in prayer "for two hours, most divinely, confessing the sins of the members of Assembly in a wonderfully pathetic and prudent way" (*Baillie,* ii, 184).

Arrowsmith preached for an hour, from Haggai ii: 4, 5,—"Yet now be strong, O Zerubbabel, saith the Lord, etc." Once again they were building a second temple, making a second reformation, though yet it appeared little. He made three "triplicities" the framework of his discourse: of persons,—the magistrates under Zerubbabel, the ministers under Joshua, and the people; of duties,—be strong, work, fear not; and of encouragements,—precept, prayer and promise. In such times there was special need of spiritual fortitude, for reformation was always attended with opposition; indeed the wisdom of the flesh was an enemy that could never be reconciled. Men were saying, "Let us cast their cords from us"—the cords of parliamentary ordinances and assembly regulations. Not only spiritual fortitude, but also spiritual industry was needed,—always to abound in the work of the Lord. Difficulties did not diminish, but increase as the work went on. "Joshua had more to do than Moses, and Nehemiah than Zerubbabel; the foundation is laid with more ease than the headstone, for there must be scaffolding; it is toilsome to plough and sow, but reaping has to be done in the heat." Lastly, "spiritual security" (i.e., freedom from anxiety); and for this there were the three grounds of encouragement already mentioned. As to the promise, "though no nation has such a large promise as the Jews, yet the Christian Church has as large a promise as they had." The Spirit of Truth led them rationally, not forcibly, gradually, not into all truth at once; and practically, not merely holding forth truth, but leading men into it. And then, after the exposition, he came to the application; they should be humbled because they had fallen short; let each man say, like Pharoah's butler, "I remember my own fault this day." It was an act of spiritual fortitude to subdue passions; differences occurred, but "the people of God, though they differ, it is but like the shaking of boughs of a tree in a storm, they are united in one root; the sons of Belial are like a heap of chaff, scattered in the storm, never to meet again." Yet "bitter contentions are dolorous," and dangerous also because they "hinder the discerning of truth and retaining of joy." As to spiritual industry, "God forbid that I should think that any have a

mind to retard the work." They had not enough spiritual security: they must "keep a good diet, . . . prizing the word of God more than all the sentences of men"; they must "live in a good air," keeping good company; they must "use wholesome exercise," as Paul told Timothy. They were workmen, harvesters, fishermen, "clouds that empty themselves to water the earth"; they were called of God, who is ever active, to an honourable work. But there was much yet to do, and "except you go on, you lose all you have done." Much had been done in pulling down, less in building up; God levelled the mountains in Zerubbabel's way, He could do the same for the Parliament. The kingdom rang with accusations against them, "but what saith God?" "Which of us here but hath in some sense been a brand plucked out of the "burning by prelatical flames?" God had done wonders, and would do more if they trusted Him. Not suddenly, but like the dawn; they needed the spirit of charity that was in Moses, and the spirit of prayer that was in Moses; armies of aliens could not stand before such prayers. Let him conclude with one more text: "When the enemy shall come in like a flood, the Spirit of the Lord shall lift up a standard against him."

After a Psalm had been sung, Vines led them in Prayer for nearly two hours, and then they had a second sermon which also lasted an hour. Palmer took as his text Psalm lxvii: 1, 2: "God be merciful unto us, and bless us, etc." A prayer, he said, was a suitable text, and a prayer which was not from a single man, but from a company. "It is a comfort to speak to wise men, each a teacher from whom I do and must daily learn. I shall therefore play the part of a remembrancer." The words of the text are a prayer, "but they may be considered in the future tense as a promise; so may all the prayers of God's people." They are a direction for our desires, and an encouragement of our desires. We need God's mercy for sins; "not only our own sins, but other men's sins; the sins of our land and armies; they are ours in part, because we have not mourned for these iniquities, we have not beaten down these sins by the strength of a rigorous example, nor blasted them by the words of our mouths"; therefore, God be merciful unto us. And we need blessing, for the land has "great confusions, great waste and spoil, great danger." The Divines themselves, "not to speak of being pinched with want," were laden with reproach and contempt from many quarters; and indeed there had been both discussion and miscarriage. They must have peace before they could have national reformation; let them pray for the purging of the army, its preservation, and its victory. Green, in his fast sermon (24 April, 1644), throws out dark hints of the need

for a purging of the army; there were those who "look more to the pay than to an end of the war" (p. 17). Henry Hall (29 May) said no less, and later it became a loud challange (Love at Uxbridge, for instance) and had a share in bringing about the Self-denying Ordinance.

"Let them pray," continued Palmer, "that they might see the truth, attain unity, and secure acceptation both with superiors and the common sort of people." All this must come from God: unless He shone upon them, "all other things will do us no good; no man looks at the sundial when the sun does not shine upon it." There was "a great deal of darkness and ignorance in the land"; God's church existed, yet "scarce the fifth or tenth part" know Him. They must consider not only God's glory but the good of others. "God is well pleased with public-spirited men"; "we are not likely to obtain any other favour from God if we are private-spirited." There was more to be done than pray; every prayer supposeth some condition that God requires"; they needed pardon for their sins, sincerity in their prayers, diligence in their work,—diligence in attendance, in preparation, in attention; "to come hither and be busied in other matters is in one sense a manifest taking of the name of God in vain." A quiet self-denying spirit, relying upon God was needed. Let them take comfort; "God has as much mercy as His people have misery"; "God is not unwilling to do good to this generation; there is no reason to think that He will undo His own work; He has delayed the work, but when was that? Was it not when His servants grew faint and negligent?" Palmer concluded by saying "therefore labour to keep the unity; if there be a cleft in the foundation and the bottom, how great will it be in the building itself?" Seamen led in prayer, and they sang another psalm; then Henderson led them in a "short sweet conference," in which he dealt with "the conveniency to preach against all sects, especially Anabaptists and Antinomians" (*Baillie,* ii, 185). Finally Twisse prayed and pronounced the benediction.

The collection for the poor of Westminster amounted to £3 1s. 8d., notwithstanding the Divines being "pinched with want"; and the long and earnest day of heart-searching was over. It had been arranged to last from nine till four, but Baillie (ii, 184) records that it went on till five, and that they spent it *"very graciously."*

On 21 October, 1644, Essex and Manchester had joined forces at Basing, and were manoeuvering for the second battle of Newbury (27 October). On the 23rd, the Commons sent a message that the army was probably actually in battle, and asked the Divines "to spend some

time in prayer." The morning session, till noon, was devoted to this, and three divines,—Whitaker, Marshall, and Caryl—led their devotions. The news of the victory did not reach the Commons till 29 October; so on the 28th a similar request was again sent; on this occasion Goodwin and Harris prayed.

On 11 December, 1644, the Commons decided on a fast "to humble themselves for their particular and parliamentary sins and failings, whereby they may hope to obtain God's blessing in a better measure upon their endeavours for the future." The parliamentary outlook was not bright; there were many who were favourable to the long drawn-out negotiations with the king; as to the war itself, Gardiner says (ii, 93) "in spite of the failures at Lostwithiel and Newbury, the military situation (of the royalists) was by no means desperate." The Commons named the preachers and also asked the Lords to join in the fast, to which they agreed the next day. The Lords named Henry VII's Chapel, but finding that this would not be large enough, altered it on the 14th to the church in Covent Garden. The Commons thereupon resolved that no person, of what quality or condition whatsoever that is not a member of either House be admitted, charged the Sergeant at Arms to see to this, and asked the Lords to agree. The Lords changed the place to Lincoln's Inn Chapel, to which the Commons agreed. In the Lords' Journals the reason given is that Covent Garden church was "too big a church for some of the ministers' voices'; in the Commons' Journal because galleries were being built in it. Though the Commons Journal does not indicate that the Divines were invited, it seems that they were present, otherwise there would have been no need for their adjournment over that day.

A request on 10 June, 1645, that they would join the Commons in prayer next day (the 10th was the day on which Cromwell was appointed Lieutenant General, when Naseby was imminent) led the Divines to say that they desired to "have the day of prayer as public as may be in the City and in Westminster."

On 30 June, 1645, the Commons asked the Divines to make the next day a day of prayer. There was no session of the Assembly the next day. Once more ten churches were named, the occasion being made a public one.

On 26 September, 1645, the Divines once more resolved to have a day of humiliation for themselves. This was prompted more by the condition of their own business than by that of public affairs. They appointed Wednesday, 1 October, from 9 a.m. to 4 p.m., and appointed

two members "for exhortation" and three "for prayer." It turned out, however, that 2 October was a special thanksgiving; so the date was changed to the following Wednesday. There was some difficulty about defining the causes for humiliation, though, as it concerned themselves only, this did not lead to the difficulties which they had found a year before. The first phrase, "for our failing in this Assembly, and for the further carrying on of our advice to Parliament that God may guide them and direct them in a due way," was revoked after having been passed, and the Assembly substituted "to humble ourselves before God, and to pray for direction and blessing upon the work that is committed to the Assembly."

The full account is in the printed Minutes of the Assembly, where it occupies 12 pages; it need therefore only be summarised here. Burges opened with prayer; then Reynolds, "after a short prayer," preached on "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself." He divided and subdivided in the most approved fashion. In his concluding exhortation he exclaimed, "Oh, that when the church is in a flame, any should come with a mind to serve their own turns by the common fire." They should deny their own opinions rather than hinder the peace of the church. "A divided ministry is fomented by the episcopal interest; but whence is it that we still have a divided ministry?" "When sheep push and run heads against one another, it is a foretoken of ill weather." They must sacrifice their private affairs, for their friends expected haste, and their enemies derided their slowness; the eyes of the churches abroad were upon them. "In the matter of property and pay, I conceive it may be improper and unreasonable to insist too emphatically upon that point; it would be happy if suggestions of that nature proceed rather from others than from ourselves." "Some men have excellent abilities of copious and fluent speaking"—was there a touch of waggishness, as he went on, "a felicity which I do so much the more honour and admire wherever I find it, by how much the greater mine own inability of digesting or uttering mine own conceptions. Yet considering the necessity of hastening the work which we have before us, I humbly conceive it were fitter to speak as Aristotle than Cicero; concise arguments than copious orations." And he concluded by quoting Paul, "Look not every man on his own things, but on the things of others; let the same mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus."

Whitaker prayed, and then Palmer took an Old Testament text, the angel's charge to Joshua, the high priest (Zech. iii: 6, 7). He began by drawing a historical parallel: there was a recovery of the glory of a

contemptible priesthood, and the promise that God would be with them if they were faithful. His line of exhortation was that of faithfulness as individual Christians and ministers of the word. He mentioned what was a great encouragement to the Divines, and to devout members of Parliament also, "how many thousands of prayers there are for the settling of the power of the kingdom of Christ." Ash offered the concluding prayer. There was a collection, given to three women (wives or widows of ministers) instead of to the servants; so next morning a second collection was made for the servants, and reached £2 1s. 6d.

On 6 October, 1645, when the attack on Chester was made, the Commons again asked the Divines to engage in prayer, and their devotions were led on this occasion by the prolocutor and Woodcock. The Committee of Both Kingdoms described the taking of Chester as being "of very great concernment." (*S. P. Dom.,* cxl.)

On 6 January, 1645–6, a special resolution was passed, calling for the presence of all members "that are in or near the town," at the fast on the 14th. This fast, which was for the two Houses and the Assembly, had been appointed by the Commons (2 January) "to the end that we may have God's assistance in the finishing and settling of this great work of church government." On 15 January, Marshall and Whitaker were specially thanked for their sermons.

Again on 1 May, 1646, the Assembly decided on a day of humiliation for itself on the following Wednesday, "in reference to the great business that is now before us," the production of the Confession of Faith. Again three were to pray and two to preach. There is a summary in the Minutes occupying seven pages. After the prolocutor had opened, a Psalm was sung. Palmer prayed, and after a short prayer Cawdry preached on I Tim. i: 19. He used Scripture quotations copiously to illustrate his points. In the application (or "use" as it was then termed) he said that it was for both ministers and people, but he would deal with only as affecting ministers. Their nature was such that they were their own enemies. They need not wonder that there were so many errors in the world. "It is a sad observation that the professing part of the Church of England has been like a fair looking-glass, all of one piece, only one image to be seen in it; but now, look at it, all in pieces." It was the nature of man to run after liberty; "the common bait that catcheth is Antinomianism; the Anabaptist asks for liberty from the magistrate, from any superior ecclesiastical power, from the Sabbath; the Brownist seeks liberty from classes" (i.e. presbyteries), from superior power, and wants everyone to have a vote (in the congregation);

the Seeker, who has lost all his religion, claims a toleration of all religion, and calls it liberty of conscience." Let them consider these things; how easily their hearts might deceive them; how dangerous such deceit was; and how great the business lying before them.

After Whitaker had prayed, Arrowsmith preached on Isaiah ix: 6. They were to expect wonderful things; England had already had them as much as any nation. "Which of us could have expected such acts of Parliament, such deliverances? We expect more wonders still; His arm is not shortened." Look to Christ as counsellor: "If ever we needed counsel, we need it now, therefore take heed of leaning to our own understandings." They must have respect to their reputation, which "goes very low with all the sectaries in the kingdom." He concluded by telling them the three rules (very searching ones) which he had laid down for his own guidance in the work before them. "1. Take heed of voting against light. 2. Take heed of voting without light; let every one be fully persuaded; he hath to subscribe with a trembling hand. 3. Take heed of refusing to bring thy judgment to light by thy vote." After Case had prayed, the collection was taken, and the prolocutor adjourned the meeting with prayer. The collection was £3 4s. 2d., and was entrusted to the brethren who had taken part, to be used at their discretion. These brethren were duly thanked next day.

Chapter IX

FASTS AND THANKSGIVINGS

In addition to the regular monthly fast, established by Parliament before the Assembly met, special fasts and thanksgivings were held. The suggestion for these came sometimes from Parliament and sometimes from the Assembly; they were sometimes country-wide (so far at least as the authority of the Parliament might at the time extend), usually a week or more later in the provinces than in London, to allow the instructions to be forwarded; at other times only in certain districts or in certain churches.

On 18 July, 1643, the Assembly suggested a fast "for the two late disasters in the North and in the West," but the next day, before they communicated with the Houses, they were informed that one had been fixed for the 21st, and certain divines were asked to preach. Vicars indulges in his usual flood of laudatory adjectives over this, saying among other things "the happy and wholesome effects whereof have since that time dropped and distilled like so many honey-dews upon our church already, and is like to be more and more" (*God's Ark,* pp. 3, 4).

On 23 January, 1643–4, Palmer called attention to negligence in the observance of the thanksgiving "for the discovery of the last plot," and moved that the House should be approached "that a more solemn and careful course might be taken both in this and in all other things of this nature." There is no reference to this in the Commons' Journals.

On 14 May, 1644, Cheynell brought a message from the Lord General, who had appointed a fast for the army, asking that three Divines should be sent "to keep a day in some church in London." Christ Church was chosen, and Wilson, Burges, and Whitaker appointed to conduct the services The Assembly also held its own fast, as related in the chapter on Devotional Exercises.

On 9 August, 1644, a suggestion made by Burges was adopted by the Assembly, and forwarded to the Commons, asking for a fast in six London churches, conducted by members of the Assembly, "to seek God for the Lord General and his army, and the whole estate of the West." Essex was at Lostwithiel, with four royalist armies converging upon him. Caryl read to the Assembly a letter he had had from the West about the state of affairs. The Divines went at once to the Commons, stating that the army "is now in a strait, the king bending his whole strength against it." When Burges reached the Lords, he found

that they had already resolved on a Fast. Accordingly, the next Tuesday (13 August) was appointed, the fast to be held in St. Margarete's, Westminster, St. Olave's, Southwark, and other churches to be named by the Assembly. It chose St. Paul's, St. Michael's, Cornhill, St. Botolph's, Aldgate, and St. Andrew's, Holborn, a selection well spread over the city area. Three divines were named for each of the six churches. Baillie makes the cynical-sounding comment, "Always many doubt the event. A fast is appointed for God's help to that army on Tuesday next; if God make all men honest, we doubt not of a success" (ii, 217). Baillie (ii, 220) records that "Mr. Palmer and Mr. Hill did preach that day to the Assembly, two of the most Scottish and free sermons that ever I heard anywhere."

A month later, things were still not going well, and on 9 September they had "the sad tidings of my Lord General's defeat in the West." Waller's army was not in a condition to relieve Essex, who had just managed to escape from Lostwithiel, leaving his infantry to surrender. Once again the same suggestion for a fast was made, Burges saying, in very mild phrase, that "it would not be unreasonable to desire a day of humiliation." His suggestion led to one of the most interesting of the discussions in the Assembly. Fortunately it is fully summarised in the minutes, and also by Gillespie, and the very phrases in which it was couched can be quoted.

It reveals the cleavage in the Assembly slowly widening; it displays the difficulties of their relation to Parliament, and of their reputation with the public and with foreign churches; it is a mirror of the faults of their own procedure, and of the state of the country, civil as well as religious. The views and individualities of the members who took part are clearly manifested; the discursiveness of debate, interspersed with clever (and sometimes humourous) rejoinders, with practical suggestions, and with counsels of despair, is depicted. The whole forms one of the best pictures available—a vivid one, yet drawn by an official and unbiased recorder—of the Assembly at work.

Newcomen, Palmer, and Goodwin at once expressed approval of Burges' proposal. Palmer said that he had a suggestion to make which might seem strange. "I have many times," he went on, "been much unsatisfied with our manner of keeping days of humiliation," especially in reference to Parliament. He moved that there should be a day when Parliament and Assembly should meet without the public being present. But they learned that Parliament had that day appointed a fast, of the usual kind, for Thursday, 12 September.

Goodwin then suggested that the causes for humiliation should be considered. There was some discussion whether this would be best done in a committee or in the Assembly. Valentine clinched the matter in a way which (possibly from the brevity of the minutes) seems rather peremptory: "It will be longer," he said, "if you appoint a commitee. I will begin." And he did, naming "carelessness in keeping the Covenant." Seaman emphasised this: "It was little looked after, either to invite any to it, or to see it kept." He then suggested another cause for humiliation,—"zeal about scandalous ministers, but no care about scandalous people." Whitaker also emphasised breach of Covenant, but added three new points,—divisions among professors of religion, "yea, their lying, slandering, and suppressing one of another, . . . falsehood in carrying on these divisions," and the lack of unity in the Assembly, where "our differences are not great." Walker named neglect of justice, and railing by sectaries, giving as an example a woman who said that the Divines "sit with a price, and are always sitting; but where will they hatch? They will hatch in hell." Newcomen said that they should begin with the Parliament and themselves, also the armies and the City. Nye was against details in the matter because the judgment was "of universal concernment"; he advised that they "make a scouting first more large"; but he proceeded sharply to criticise the attack upon the sects.

The atmosphere was becoming charged; Henderson brought them to a practical point, by moving that the Assembly sit till they have completed this business, probably hoping that this might curb prolixity. Two members, Bridge and Case, had separately, in the course of the discussion, suggested uniting in prayer for direction; Herle now repeated the suggestion with some success, for "the prolocutor went to prayer." Thereafter the Scots tried to help the position. Henderson frankly said that they wasted the time by debating things "acknowledged by all the Continental churches,"—a criticism aimed, no doubt, at the Dissenting Brethren; he also reported that there were some in the army who said that they had never seen the Covenant. Gillespie said that religion was the principal thing, but had been treated by Parliament as "subservient to political ends"; the Assembly must be frank with Parliament. "You have," said he, "to deal with men that fear God, and therefore it will be an oil to them." Religion had been the principal thing in the situation in Scotland. As to the Assembly, if debates were so long, "what hopes are there that we shall carry the matter of government and the directory?" Rutherford followed; with characteristic spiritual insight he remarked, "It is far easier for me to confess the

sins of others than mine own, and therefore the enquiry is harder." He admitted that "it is not yet time to build the house of the Lord," because many, both in church and state, were too indifferent. "A peaceable and brotherly way" had been suggested, "but it hath been deserted; the cause of this I dare not censure"; and he referred sorrowfully to "the detracting calumnies on both sides."

The Scottish divines having thus made their contribution, Seaman suggested the consideration of the Solemn League and Covenant article by article, while Calamy thought that the ordinance of Parliament, confessing the sins of the land, should be read every fast day. Calamy also reported that in the City it was said that the reverses came "at the very time when the Assembly was upon a way of suppressing the Anabaptists and Antinomians." After a vivid description of the details of the disaster, he went on, "All this falls in when the Parliament makes so great difficulty in passing the ordinance about ordination," an instructive example of the possibility of different views of the causes of God's displeasure. He gave the information that on the previous evening at Worcester house Sir Harry Vane and Sir Arthur Hazelrig had violently opposed the clauses saying that ordination was an ordinance of Christ, and that ministers were set over their people in the Lord. He concluded by saying that they must begin with their own sins.

Whereupon Palmer rose with the words, "I desire to begin there," and opened with the fault of slack attendance, coming late and going early, especially the sparse attendance at committees. It throws a curious light upon their proceedings that he said that during the meetings there was "reading of news" (of course there was always exciting news to read), "talking and in confusion; we do not attend at the beginning nor ending for prayer as we ought to do." (How persistent is human nature! Some, at least, of this might be said to-day of Assemblies and Presbyteries.) His next complaint is also a perennial one: "On the one hand, some of us are too forward to speak, and some are, I fear too backward." Finally, he referred to "unhappy differences and unbeseeming phrases." Burges then called attention to the extreme urgency of the situation, "the insolence, pride, and bloodthirstiness of the enemy," the gasping condition of Ireland, and the great divisions in the Earl of Manchester's army. When they tried to suppress the sectaries, in accordance with the Covenant, they were accounted bloodsuckers; yet there were the people who made it their business "to preach down what is done by the Assembly." If they delayed now, they were really giving strength to and unwittingly fomenting "all the sects and sectaries." He also

thought that they should consider the Covenant—"wherein it is broken, especially by ourselves; and if by any other, it should be fully represented."

The first article of the Covenant was then read; whereupon Goodwin claimed that men had taken it "in a general way," and that no interpretation should be put upon it to "restrain it one way." Every one should be left to his own sense in it. All the same, he added, "It is a great wrong that it hath been urged in books that those that admit not the government of the Church of Scotland break the Covenant." Seaman rightly pointed out that it was "not the Covenant of any private man, but the Covenant of three nations," and therefore "no interpretation should be put upon it without the joint concurrence of those interested in it." He then claimed that "the natural, proper, and unquestionable sense" of the first article was "for a union and uniformity." Rutherford once more tried to pour oil upon the troubled waters by saying that they had none of them been as sedulous as they should have been. Goodwin again intervened upon the same lines as before. Seaman introduced a new point by saying "a duty lies upon us to persuade his Majesty to take the Covenant," and that they should "offer him some satisfaction" for their meeting contrary to his proclamation. Burges repeated Rutherford's confession of slackness. Goodwin asked that they should "come to particulars," and Nye also spoke, but no summary is given in the minutes. Ley said frankly, "So far as we have not endeavoured union, but to set up schisms and sects, so far we are guilty." Not unnaturally, Goodwin took this opportunity of saying that the first step was to define what were "schisms and sects." Ley at once gave the definition (which of course assumed the position of a national church) "That that draws Christians from communion with their own pastors." Goodwin then pressed for a "debate upon it to-day or to-morrow." (The Independents were always for further debate.)

Calamy lamented the lack of unity as being "a great hindrance to the proceedings of our armies, and having put divisions among them"; the real issue was how far they could agree; thereafter they might consider "a liberty of difference." Bridge said that all would confess that division was a "great sin," but "some say the cause is in others, others say the cause is in them." He agreed with Calamy as to the right procedure, but they had been "smiting one another with the tongue instead." Dr. Smith thought that to publish such things abroad would be harmful; Burges, ever trying to be practical, moved "that we may do something," but apparently did not say what. Nye challenged the current statement

that there were two parties in the Assembly, and made a good case for there being more than three or four, though of course he failed to note that there was one great line of cleavage, and that the others were lesser ones. He astutely described four parties: some who did not think there was a warrant for any system in God's word (the Erastians), others who thought that there was no settled form (the Moderates, whom a modified episcopacy would have satisfied); and others who think all to be settled is warranted in God's word (the Presbyterians), but even they, he pointed out, were divided about ruling elders, and perhaps about some other things. And he ended with a strange challenge: "Were the government of Scotland laid down, those you call Independents will come nearer to it than many in the Assembly." The Scots must have been astounded. Palmer next made a suggestion on the same lines as Burges, though evidently without much confidence; "If there be anything more than a general statement, let us express it." Herle told of an accusation that was abroad in the City "that the reason of delay is because most of the Assembly have good benefices or are eager after great sequestrations," and lost one week in the month in this way. (Lightfoot's Diary illustrates this; he was conscientious about his pastorate at Munden, and so was often absent.) Herle went on to say, "Much has been said about our long debates; I wish the debates were longer and the speeches shorter; a great deal of time is spent in inveighing against others, and in keeping up a debate till an advantage is gotten in the state of the question." The army, he said, spoke evil of the Assembly, and charged it with thinking that this was a defensive war; it was not, it was a war of assault "against those who strengthen themselves against the justice of the state." Henderson pled for greater speed, and said that the increase of sects was both a sin and a judgment; "the proceedings of the Assembly and Parliament," he added, "are mightily clogged." Goodwin reiterated his claim that the Covenant had been taken "in so great a latitude of sense." De la March suggested that they might reflect only upon themselves, and go no further; the true cause, however, he said, was in anyone who opposed or hindered reformation.

There may then have been a pause, no one entering the lists. Palmer seems to have seen an opportunity of getting forward, for he said, "I proceed to the second article." He did not wish to discuss the wording, for the substance of the article simply bound them to redouble their effort in a thing which they had been bound to do even were there no such Covenant, the extinction of heresy and schism. They had not yet

defined heresy, indeed, but at any rate Antinomianism was heresy, and Anabaptism was schism, and they had not really endeavoured their extirpation. Gibson gave a new turn to the discussion by pointing out that "much has been done against prelacy and superstition, but little against profaneness and schism." Burges was apparently referring to some particular instance of profaneness when he spoke of "that base, unworthy, and heathenish beggars' feast," when men of quality were present. Nye said that the Assembly was not guilty of neglect, for neither it nor any minister had power "put into their hands" to deal with heresy or schism; and that, while he would not champion it, he doubted whether merely forbearing infant baptism was a schism. He thus evaded the question whether the forming of exclusively Anabaptist congregations might not be a schism.

Bridge remarked that "the Assembly hath not done enough against prelacy, for they have never declared it unlawful," but Nye rejoined that the point was not referred to them, being indeed "particularly exempted in the ordinance." Calamy thought that the sin was of the kingdom, for it had officially taken an oath, and was not carrying it out; there were indeed many ordinances against profaneness and for better keeping of the fast, "but no care taken to see them brought into effect." Palmer again made a remark which cut deep, that some of the City ministers were "preaching rather of other things than to bring men to repentance." Gouge mentioned "an indecent carriage of ministers in regard of long hair and apparel," and Burges desired the utter extirpation of playhouses, and added a striking phrase, of which it was long ere criminologists recognised the truth, that "the gaols of England are the schools of hell," a statement which Palmer endorsed with the doubtful example of a malefactor who turned Papist in prison. Temple asked for the "suppressing of alehouses and taverns and other lewd houses." Tuckney sounded a warning note, saying that before Parliament met they had groaned under many oppressions, but now people were complaining of the Parliament oppressions.

The Assembly proceeded to the fourth article of the Covenant; the third was presumably passed over as being political and not religious in character. Burges said that many men fomented factions, to which Calamy added that "every man seeks himself, and to raise himself by these wars"; he said also that there was a want of execution of justice. In this he was strongly supported by Palmer, and by Chambers, who remarked, "those who are let go are made the greatest scourges." A number of individual cases were adduced by Case, Herle, Burroughes,

Seaman, Palmer, and Burges. Treacherous correspondence with the enemy was named by Woodcock, and the ill behaviour of the Parliament soldiers by Nye; "many," he said, "have found themselves as much oppressed by the Parliament forces as by the enemy."

The hour was getting late, and the best thing to be done was to appoint a committee; the number at first suggested was twenty, but this was reduced to seven, of whom one (quite a just proportion) was an Independent. The committee was instructed "to consider of those heads or any other they shall think fit," with orders to report next morning.

They proved most efficient workers. The minutes record only three of the main heads of their report, but fortunately Lightfoot (who had been absent the previous day) had returned, and has recorded the details of the four main heads. The committee had certainly carried out its instructions; practically every point mentioned in the debate was included, and others added, and the whole succinctly and systematically stated.

I. The sins of the Assembly. 1. Neglect of the service, in slackness in coming and departing at pleasure; 2. By abstaining from prayers; 3. Manifesting a neglect in the time of debate, and neglecting committees; 4. Some speaking too much, and others too little; 5. By irreverent carriage; 6. By haste in debating; 7. Driving on parties; 8. Not serious examination of ministers.

II. Of the armies. 1. Emulation among the officers, causing the loss of many opportunities; 2. Want of ministers; 3. Swearing, drinking, etc.; 4. Want of discipline in the army.

III. Of the people. 1. Profaneness, scorn of God's hand upon us; 2. Duties of humiliation "disfigurated"; 3. Our hearts not humbled upon humiliation; there was "curling of hair, patching, bare breasts, and painting"; 4. Divisions in opinion and affection among professors; 5. Jealousies, sidings, and tale-bearings; 6. Unthankfulness for God's mercies; 7. Neglect of personal and family reformation; 8. Carnal confidence and general security.

IV. Of Parliament. 1. Not tendering the Covenant to all in their power; 2. Not active in suppressing Anabaptists and Antinomians; 3. Not seeking religion in the first place; 4. Not suppressing stage plays, taverns, profaneness, and scoffing of ministers, and even incest itself; 5. Not a free publishing of truths, for fear of losing a party; 6. Oppression by committees, with intolerable fees; 7. Not debts paid; 8. Remissness in punishing delinquents; 9. Private ends aimed at, "the great incomes of some new invented offices"; 10. Delays in relieving the army; 11. Church lands sold, but not for the maintenance of ministers.

When this had been read by Dr. Temple, Burges pled that they would "use all brevity in the passing of it."

As to the first main head, Henderson doubted the desirability of "laying open the weaknesses of the Assembly"; if the Reformed Churches heard of it, they would not think well of it; and "it is not necessary before God; if the Assembly will repent of them, God will pardon them." Tuckney, who was one of the committee, pointed out that the title of their report shewed that it was not intended to be sent up to Parliament. Case thought that some of the faults might be bewailed by the divines themselves but others should be laid open publicly, otherwise men would condemn them as partial. Palmer said that the first thing was to consider whether the charges were true, upon which Gouge cuttingly retorted, "Behold the Assembly now! The delay of business is that we begin too late." Seaman moved that the last clause be left out, and emphasised that they had still to determine what use should be made of the list. But they went on to discuss the faults of the armies. Gouge scored his point again (for evidently there had been a number of late arrivals) saying, "Because some in this Assembly are not acquainted with what we are about, I desire to give a short account of it." They then discussed the sins of the people in general; but of the debate on these two heads the minutes give no details.

The last head was the faults of Parliament. Rous and Tate arrived when they were about to discuss this. Some timid members evidently hesitated to discuss this before two such redoubtable members of Parliament. But Nye moved to go on, desiring "that their judgment in the matter should be known," and Rous seconded him. Rous and Tate defended the Parliament in various matters, and suggested that Parliament men should be asked to examine their own consciences whether they were guilty. Gillespie supported this, "for shortening the debates, there being no possibility of ending the several articles this day, if we shall debate them positively." "That way of expression was ordered," he says; yet the debate went on.

In support of the first item, Palmer stated that he had made a return of those who had not taken the Covenant in a City parish, five or six of them being papists, and yet nothing had been done against any of them. Hardwick said that there were many ministers whose names had been returned and nothing done. Wilson quoted verses from the story of Israel in Psalm lxxviii., as a parallel to that of England. Burges contrasted the position in England with that in Scotland, where "he that will not take the Covenant may not shew his head"; to which Goodwin and Bridge retorted that many people now scrupled about the religious part of the Covenant. The wise and devout Palmer reminded them that

"God sent the Covenant to us when we were in a low condition"; things had prospered after taking it, but now the Covenant was being neglected. And he went on with a practical distinction; "I am very tender of any man's conscience; if any refuse, he should have further time; but that must not be a sufficient excuse to set themselves with great violence against the things in the Covenant and the persons that have taken it." The Independents again intervened. Burroughes with a clever, but ineffective, counter to Palmer, saying "God blessed us in taking of it, but whether will He bless us in urging of it?", and Goodwin with a repetition of the request for a definition of Antinomianism and Anabaptism, a claim which, whether deliberately or not, involved the delaying of the settlement of the main question. Nye thought that "Parliament, being a civil court, cannot be charged with not minding religion in the first place," to which Palmer replied with the example of Hezekiah, beginning his reformation as soon as he came to the throne. At this point comes in Lightfoot's observation, "Before we had gone through the sins of Parliament it was grown late, and we adjourned to the afternoon."

In the interval, Goodwin seems to have decided upon a direct frontal attack; he moved that the matter be laid aside, and not presented to Parliament. Bridge thought it wiser to suggest that a petition would be the right method. Vines said, No; the Assembly ought to report the facts. But he evidently felt the difficulties; he would not open the mouth of the enemy; the honour of Parliament (or possibly of the Assembly, it is not certain which) stood "in the eminency of their godliness"; further, if they dealt with matters of state (he was doubtless referring to such things as numbers 6, 7, 10, and even 11) they might be going beyond their province. Burges once more intervened with proposals for action. "It is requisite that we should perform our duty; but it is very unsafe that anything of this kind should be delivered to them in writing, for then it must stand upon record; but both Houses of Parliament and the Assembly might spend one day together, two or three of the Divines being trusted to deliver the sense of the Assembly." This suggestion had been made by Palmer at the very outset of the whole debate; Herle now promptly called it "a very safe and good course," and reminded them that they were bound to uphold the reputation of the Parliament. Seaman supported this as the only thing that they were yet ripe for. Goodwin opposed again; it was one thing for Parliament to hear what was said of them, "it is another difference for you to go and carry it; I am solicitous of the issue of it." Palmer (who

had been one of the committee) acknowledging that he had wanted the enquiry, now felt that, while it should not be laid aside, it was difficult to know how to use it. Rutherford then took part; there was no doubt, he said, that there were many sins in the land, and it had pleased God "to suspend the work of reformation"; "there cannot be a more lawful way than that the sins of the land should be particularly laid out"; "how can you bring Parliament to humiliation or reformation without some remonstrance of the sins of the land, in particular estates?" He thought that God was calling on them to discharge their consciences, and so to do would be evidence of the "fidelity of the Lord's messengers." But he was no visionary, so he concluded thus: "Only I am not against doing it in the most prudent and wise terms that you can." Temple was against laying it aside, and suggested sending it back to the committee. Herle made a last appeal for action, along the line that "if the Parliament take it well, they will in nothing more honour themselves." Lightfoot records, "We proceeded all afternoon, but finished not"; the minutes say, "Ordered: This business shall be resumed the next meeting, and then to take into further consideration what to do in it."

Next day, Wednesday, they did not meet; Thursday was the Fast Day, and so it was held without any statement of the specific causes for humiliation. On the Friday morning, Temple's plan of sending it back to the committee was adopted, apparently without debate. And so the matter was shelved.

The minutes shew that Baillie's summary (ii, 228), though too bitterly expressed, is not essentially unfair. "We spent two days or three on the matter of a remonstrance to Parliament of the sins which provoked God to give us this late stroke; and here we had the most free and strange parley that ever I heard, about the evident sins of the Assembly, the sins of the Parliament, the sins of the army, the sins of the people. When we were in full hope of a large fruit of so honest and faithful a censure, Thomas Goodwin and his brethren, as their custom is to oppose all things that are good, carried it so that all was dung in the howes (i.e. thrust into a hole), and that matter clean laid by." Still, it was no Independent, but Temple, who gave the fatal thrust. Gillespie, among the reasons why the matter was dropped, says, "because the Independents were like to give in reasons against these things."

The Assembly sometimes made suggestions as to the use of the collections made on Fast Days. On 19 September, 1644, they desired that the money, and also the remaining half of the last collection, should be for the relief of soldiers. They went to the Commons, and the House

"gave them no answer," though Burges reported to the Assembly that they were considering it. On the day before the Fast, at the request of the overseers of the Parish of St. Martin's in the Fields, the Commons designated the collection for the poor of that parish, "especially of the wives and children of such as are abroad [i.e. away from home] in the service of the Parliament."

On 18 October, 1644, the Commons resolved for a Fast "to desire a blessing of God upon the armies," which were on the brink of battle. Parliamentary forces, acting separately, had been unsuccessful. Their junction was being effected, and it resulted in the second battle of Newbury (27 October). By advice of the Assembly, October 23 was fixed; and, at the suggestion of the Divines, Parliament added to its resolution "that none do presume to use their trade, or ordinary labour, or to open their shops." The Assembly "with an acknowledgment of the zeal and piety of the House in wishing such a necessary duty in such an extraordinary hour," was uncertain whether services should be held in all the City churches or in half a dozen selected ones. The Assembly also desired that ministers on Sunday should be "constant in commending our armies and their good success to God in prayer."

In December, 1644, the monthly fast fell on Christmas Day; the Divines thought well, on 19 December, to ask the Commons to make a special order. That House at once passed "An Ordinance for declaring and enjoining the public fast to be kept on Wednesday next, although it be the day on which the Feast of the Nativity of our Saviour was wont to be solemnised." The Lords concurred, and next day ordered the Lord Mayor to see to its observance.

On 20 May, 1645, the Assembly adjourned because of a fast by the London ministers. On 17 June, 1645, Wilson called the attention of the Assembly to the fact the thanksgiving for the victory at Naseby would fall in the country districts only two days after the monthly fast, and suggested that the Commons be asked to make the first day one of thanksgiving. But as so often, nothing was done; it was resolved "This debate shall be waived." Baillie was troubled about the frequency of such occasions; on 1 July, 1645, he wrote (ii, 291), "Little more progress is made in church affairs. The Assembly has been forced to adjourn on five different occasions of fastings and thanksgiving lately, every one whereof took from us almost two days." The dates were 28 May, 11, 19, 25 June, and 1 July. The last of these had been appointed by the Commons at only one day's notice for "a blessing upon our armies and forces now in the West." They asked the Divines to "appoint

several churches" in which it was to be kept, and requested that one of them would pray for an hour at the meeting of the House. The Divines selected ten churches, with four Divines for each; only nine are mentioned in the minutes, but as some have five names, the total is thirty-eight. None are indicated as preachers, and one might have inferred that the occasion was a purely devotional one, but Vicars (*Burning Bush,* p. 182) says that divers of the most eminent of the Assembly all that day did preach and pray. It looks as if its exceptionally large scale may have been the "last straw" which broke down Baillie's endurance.

On 29 August, 1645, members were commissioned to ask for "a fast for Scotland." This was because of Montrose's victory at Kilsyth on the 15th. Sir Henry Vane wrote, "We continue still in great astonishment at the sad and sudden change of affairs in Scotland, and cannot yet imagine how it was possible to happen" (*S. P. Dom.* DX, 84). The Commons set apart Friday, 5 September.

In July, 1646, a fast and a thanksgiving, for the surrender of Worcester, occurred in the same week. After considerable debate, and the revoking of a motion which they had passed, the Assembly adjourned from Friday, 10 July to the 17th. They were at the height of the debate on *jus divinum,* hence the unwillingness to adjourn.

On 3 December, 1646, the Assembly suggested to Parliament "a general fast . . . for the great judgment of rain and waters"; and the Commons ordered a fast in the City the next Wednesday, and in the country the following Wednesday. On 4 December, the Lords resolved to keep the fast in Henry VII's Chapel, and asked Roberts and Martin to preach.

On 15 September, 1647, on a suggestion from the General Assembly in Scotland, Rutherford moved that they should petition for a general fast; but the Assembly did nothing.

Chapter X

SECTARIES AND HERETICS

One obtains a lively picture, almost overcrowded with interesting detail, of the variegated and even extravagant doctrines preached in these years of spiritual ferment, by studying the doings of Assembly and Parliament. The Assembly doubtless added to its difficulties by a lack of adequate distinction between the more moderate and the more extreme forms of error. To them truth was truth, and error was error, and that was all that was to be said; and error, they rightly recognised, was dangerously rife. Parliament had a less rigid judgment, not so much perhaps of the errors as of the need for graded punishments. Prisoners were released and, in not a few cases, repeated their offences; one of the gravest cases was found to be legally liable to the death penalty, but it was not inflicted. The Assembly did not refuse to try and convince men of their error, but it certainly had a tendency to consider that men were obstinate heretics without very much experimental evidence. Yet it must have been an appalling thing for evangelical Calvinists (and such they were) to see such a flood of loose and often wild preaching spreading over the land. It not merely outraged their sense of decency, it roused in their hearts a fear for the spiritual welfare of the nation, the thing of which they were the guardians.

The first type of unorthodoxy which disturbed the Divines was Antinomianism. On 10 August, 1643, they finished a petition on the subject, and presented it to the Commons. The House thanked the Assembly and promptly appointed a committee, including those of its members who were members of the Assembly, which was to peruse the books named, and which had "power to send for parties, witnesses, writings, records, etc.," and also to consult such Divines as they thought fit. That the question aroused a wide-spread interest seems indicated by the fact that on 23 August the Commons opened the committee to all members who cared to attend it.

The books complained of were Crisp's "Christ Alone Exalted," Eaton's "Honeycomb," "The Dangerous Dish," "The Doctrine and Conversation of John the Baptist," and "Faith, A Sermon on Rev. iii: 18." The individuals mentioned were Randall, Batt, Lancaster, Simpson, Haydon, Emerson, Erbury, Towne, and Penn. It may be well to give a few particulars about some of these men; they were of varied type and calibre.

John Eaton was styled by Anthony à Wood as "a grand Antinomian, if not one of the founders of the sect so called." He was the beloved vicar of Wickham Market, Suffolk, who produced a great reformation in the morals of his parish; but he was three times suspended, and finally deprived, by the High Commission Court. On one occasion he read out to that court a passage from the Homily on Disobedience, about "proud and ambitious bishops and ecclesiastical persons" who "hinder the main light of God's word from the people." He spent some five or six years in prison at various times, and died in 1641. His widow was summoned before Bishop Morton because she would not deliver up the manuscript of his book "without any assurance to have it again." After eight or nine months' imprisonment in Newgate, she gave a bond not to print the book without licence. Thereupon she was released, but died shortly afterwards. "The Honeycomb of Free Justification by Christ Alone" was published in 1642 by Robert Lancaster, with the promise of a life of Eaton, which never appeared.

Randall was a Familist, and two years later it was said that "multitudes of people follow him, and many embrace his doctrine." (John Etherington: *Brief Discovery.*) Calamy reported one of his extravagances to the Assembly on 5 February, 1643–4; he had celebrated a marriage in his own room, "taking off the woman's garter, and using many other unseemly carriages, whereof they that were present were ashamed." Rutherford called him "the most ingenious Antinomian I have known." (*Spiritual Antichrist,* ii, 96).

Lancaster, who published the "Honeycomb" and also Crisp's "Christ Alone Exalted," is described, on the title page of his "Vindiciae Evangelicae" (1694), as "late minister of the Gospel, sometime at Quarly, and also at Amport in Hampshire." He was inducted as rector of Quarley by an order of the Lords, dated 20 November, 1648, and went to Amport in 1656.

Tobias Crisp, like Eaton, was dead. He had been minister at Brinkworth (Wilts) before he came to London. His book was published in 1643, just after his death; the *D.N.B.* thinks that it was not actually burnt. He was extremely unguarded in his expressions, but his writings certainly do not suggest that he had any intention of defending licentiousness. His influence was undoubtedly great; his son, Samuel, in the preface to his works (1690) says that the sermons had been preached with great acceptance to thousands that flocked to hear him, from place to place in this great city, twice every Lord's Day, and to his house to the repetition of them at night."

William Erbury, B.A. (Oxon), had been vicar of St. Mary's Cardiff, but was ejected in 1638 for refusing to read the "Book of Sports." He declared in 1640 for Parliament, and by Christopher Love's influence was made chaplain to Major Skippon's regiment, where he is said to have corrupted the soldiers with Antinomianism. In 1640 he had published "The Great Mystery of Godliness." His views were somewhat unstable; in 1644 he was preaching Anabaptism in Hertfordshire, and decrying the Church of England as no true church; in 1646 he was deprived of a chaplaincy for Socinianism; he is said to have held his Anabaptist views with the curious modification that it was only necessary to go ankle-deep in the water. In 1647 he was of importance enough for Cheynell to hold a disputation with him in Oxford. The *D.N.B.* styles him "a mystic and a fanatic, with some little learning, good parts, and a violent temper."

Robert Towne secured a curacy at Haworth near Bradford at a time when Presbyterian ascendency was waning, and was ejected from it in 1660. Calamy has a very meagre note about him, to which Palmer adds the curious sentence, "It was said that he had imbibed some unsound principles, but he was a man of good character." This is borne out by Oliver Heywood's remark (*Diaries,* iv, 1) that he was "the famous Antinomian, who writ some books; he was the best scholar, and soberest man of that judgment in the country, but something unsound in principles."

Learning, enthusiasm, mysticism, and eccentricity were thus mingled in these men in varying proportions, backed in all of them by strong individualism.

On 1 September, 1643, the Assembly dealt with Lancaster for issuing Crisp's and Eaton's books, which Lightfoot describes as "both replenished with abundance of erroneous and abominable doctrines." On 9 September, the Commons Committee was ordered to report, and as a result the Divines were instructed on the 12th to compare the books with the word of God and the Thirty-nine Articles, and to report speedily. So, on the 14th, the Assembly appointed a committee of its own. This gave in a report on the 20th, suggesting that they should "add some considerations to the House of Commons," and it was continued for that purpose. Two days later it reported again: Selden was dissatisfied with their merely representing the opinions to be "very erroneous and dangerous," and told them that the Commons expected them "not only to make some law and declaration against the opinions (but) to proceed against the persons." He suggested two possible courses, either to

deprive them of their livings for preaching something inconsistent with the Articles, or else to proceed against them as heretics. The Assembly, he contended, must let the Commons know whether these things were "direct heresies." But the Assembly, possibly considering that this was a matter of law beyond their power, decided to let the report go forward. Accordingly on 23 September, Temple told the Commons that this was "a business of a large nature, and will require time to give present satisfaction"; they submitted what they had done, and would go on with the work. The Commons ordered an early consideration of the report, but nothing was done at that time.

On 9 October, 1643, a new situation had arisen. Palmer reported that "Mr. Simpson by name encouraged the Antinomians, and confessed that we ought not to confess our sins." Thereupon Temple suggested renewing their petition to Parliament, because nothing had been done. Salway the member of Parliament, said that the chief reason for this was that Rous had been ill, and that he would be able to say more the next day. Burges suggested that Simpson's parishioners ought to petition the Commons. On 9 October, they drew the attention of the House to the matter; it appointed a committee, and next day suspended Simpson from his lectureship at Aldgate. The Lord Mayor forbade him to preach in private houses. On Sunday, 4 February, 1643–4, preaching in a house in Covent Garden, he "gave the people warning that he would preach no more in corners, and that in the afternoon they should hear him in the broad walk at Paul's. So he, and a number of people with him, came and demanded the pulpit of Paul's, but, the doors being shut, he got him up at Paul's Cross in the church yard, and preached there, whereby a tumult was made in the city." Burges had been the preacher in the cathedral that afternoon, and reported the matter to the house next day, claiming, however, that the cathedral officers had discreetly prevented Simpson from using the pulpit in the Churchyard, and so avoided a tumult. The Lords and Commons present in the Assembly "promised to take it into consideration," and next day the Earl of Pembroke asked the Assembly that information should be laid against Simpson; on the Wednesday evidence was produced. On 10 October, 1643, Palmer brought in "a paper against Mr. Simpson," and on his suggestion four members were appointed to draft a representation to the Commons, "moving them to put an end to [i.e., come to a decision in] their proceedings about the Antinomians, in regard to the daily mischiefs that do arise more and more by reason of the not finishing thereof." This Committee reported at once; but there was again some

doubt as to the delimitation of function between Parliament and Assembly. Bridge thought that the Assembly should have the offenders "come hither one by one to have been satisfied," that is, by arguments. Goodwin also thought that in justice the Assembly should deal with them first (before passing it to the Commons) "to convince them," contending that the fact that individual members had failed to do this was not of importance. Gataker, on the other hand, asked whether, as the opinions are so odious, "Is it not high time to require them to be suppressed?" Seaman's conscience led him to support Goodwin's view. But a message was sent to the Commons by Burges: the Commons thanked the Divines and again appointed a committee. It was a smaller committee (16 against 29) and only three of them had been members of the previous one, but again any who cared were entitled to attend. It was to deal with the question of ordination and induction to vacant charges. On 19 October, Burges reported that the Divines had been asked to attend the Commons' committee, and that the immediately important thing was "a provision against blind guides admitted into the ministry." The sequel to this is dealt with in another chapter.

On 2 November, 1643, an order came from the Commons (made on 25 October) telling the Divines to revise the judgment they had sent, and to enlarge and print it. It was read a second time next day, when Palmer pressed the great importance of this, because it would be "the first thing that hath come from the Assembly"; and Gataker, saying that it would "require a great deal of pains," asked that some who were already acquainted with the matter should deal with it. A strong committee, including all the members of the former one, was appointed to meet on Monday, 6 November, "in the dean's lodging."

On 13 November, the matter came up in a different form. Calamy had had a "ticket" sent him the previous day in church (i.e. either an announcement, or a request for prayer) "which infringed the privilege and credit of the Assembly." A paper was put into the hands of the clerk in which Calamy was charged with saying that "Many places were brought in [i.e., at the Assembly] to prove that it was not lawful for a synod to set up government," and that they must do something, or it would be sure to be heard of in public. This was evidently from an aggrieved sectary who supposed that anti-presbyterian views were being suppressed in the Assembly. A note from Arthur Swanwick was read, offering to testify that "some have complained that they could not have freedom of speech in the Assembly," and that though they offered disputation, six to six, they were denied it, and that the Commons would

be informed. Burges had just intimated his belief that haste was being made to gather churches while this was still possible. A committee was appointed to present to Parliament the reports prejudicial to the Assembly which were current, and the fact of the "multitudes of churches gathered or gathering in city and country," and to urge them speedily to provide for the comfortable subsistence of the ministry. There is no doubt that the lack of responsible learned ministers favoured the upspringing of ignorant and erratic preachers. Next day again the matter was discussed, and Sir Benjamin Rudyard promised to report it to the Commons; and on 20 November that House referred to its Committee on Plundered Ministers "to examine the business of divers persons that take the liberty and presumption to give [i.e., confer] orders, and likewise of divers others that take the liberty in the city and other places to gather churches, contrary to the laws of the land and the authority of Parliament, and at this time anticipating the work of the Parliament and Assembly."

On this same day, 20 November, a letter was read in the Assembly from some London ministers, which Burges described as arguing a deep sense of the distractions of the church. Lightfoot records the six points of the letter, most of which were already under consideration. They desired speedy action: 1. For ordination of ministers; 2, For distinction of the people that come to sacraments; 3. For catechising; 4. For some cause against Brownism, Anabaptism, Antinomianism; 5. Against scandalous and debauched persons; and 6. Against the gathering of churches. Evidently some of the London ministers came in person with this letter, for the prolocutor told them "how well the Assembly takes your care in this letter," and promised action. The letter was read again, and Case suggested that it be passed on to the Commons; but meanwhile it was sent to a committee. That Committee reported on 23 November, and the details were discussed. The committee submitted that it was not yet safe to meddle with ordination, and that "promiscuous communication of the sacrament also could not be restrained." Then Gouge made the suggestion "that the communion be not administered till some order be taken to keep back, . . . that ministers shall have power to keep away unworthy communicants." To his mind, evidently, it was a lesser evil to deprive fit persons of the sacrament than to profane it by administering it to all and sundry. Catechising and profaneness, the committee reminded the Assembly, had already been brought to the notice of the House of Commons; but they desired the Parliament "to settle a pious magistracy for the restraint of pro-

faneness." The point about gathering of churches was excepted against by Nye, who wished it to be phrased "the disorderly gathering." Painter delivered a shrewd blow when he said that "gathering of churches from pagans and heathen" was scriptural, but "gathering of churches out of churches is disorderly." That some were actually disorderly in an undeniable sense is shewn by Burges' report, on 11 December, of a case where some were preaching in the church porch whilst others were doing so in the church itself. The committee's report was that the Assembly was working at this, "and desire that they that know who gather churches shall take notice of them, and we shall seek redress." This amounted to a challenge to the Independents to report any gatherings which they thought disorderly; and it would naturally imply that they favoured such as they did not report. The report of the committee was adopted and communicated to the London ministers, and the Divines also petitioned the Commons on the subject on 30 November. On 22 December, there was a suggestion that churches already gathered should be dispersed, but the Independents could hardly be expected to submit to that; so only the formation of new ones was forbidden. Baillie reports (ii, 111) that John Goodwin and others "are appointed to be admonished for their assaying to gather congregations."

The Assembly had some doubts about the Antinomianism of some candidates for livings, which will be dealt with in its due place.

On 18 December, 1643, six members were added to the Antinomian committee, Lightfoot says, "because of its weight and haste." There was probably a good bulk of literature for the members to examine, and the matter still went on slowly. On 8 January, 1643–4, Burges moved that it be hastened; he said that "those we looked after to help to quell it have failed in it"; the Independents felt this a reflection upon them, and there was a debate "with some heat." Yet once again, as the result of the Earl of Manchester's complaint of disturbances in church, the committee was instructed on 16 February, 1643–4 to "constantly meet every Tuesday in the afternoon, and expedite that business as soon as they possibly can." Vicars (*God's Ark,* p. 162) says that "there was a conference between both Houses of Parliament, which was managed by the noble and truly pious Earl of Manchester; the effect whereof was this, that whereas there were divers inconveniences and great disturbances begun to be brewing and already raised, and likely to grow much greater . . . by Anabaptists, Antinomians, and such like," both Houses asked the Assembly to expedite the settling of church government. An

order was also sent to the Lord Mayor to see "that none did preach in any church but such as the minister or the pastor thereof shall answer for their doctrines delivered, if fully questioned; therefore all ministers especially were to be very careful." He calls this "a course marvellous fit to be put in execution." On 19 February, a new committee was appointed to prepare arguments not only against the Antinomians, but also in support of infant baptism. There were twelve members, of whom six had been members of the former committee; two more were added on 1 March. It seems probable (though there is only circumstantial evidence) that it was a report from them which caused the action taken by the Commons on 29 March, instructing that an ordinance be prepared "for suppressing the unlawful assembling and meeting together of Antinomians and Anabaptists, and the venting their erroneous and schismatical opinions in the counties as well as in London." The Brownists had been mentioned in the Assembly along with the Anabaptists in November, but are not named by the Commons. It was on account of these sectaries, and the partial countenance afforded them by the Independents that Baillie considered it important for the Scots divines to remain in London; he wrote urgently on this point on 26 March, 1644, "I know none of our company who can be spared but myself" (ii, 160).

Similar matters came up apart from the reports of this committee on Antinomianism. Some time after mid-December, reports Baillie (ii, 118), "there is a paper drawn up by Mr. Marshall, in the name of the chief men of the Assembly and the chief of the Independents, to be communicated to the Assembly, and by their advice to be published." This was what became known as *"Certain Considerations to dissuade from further Gatherings of Churches at this Juncture."* It caused

a great and sharp debate [*Baillie,* ii, 121]; sundry did speak much against sundry expressions of it as giving too much countenance to those who had gathered congregations, and favour more than needed to the Independents. But they [i.e., the Independents] did avow that they were much thereby prejudged, and were most willing to suppress the paper, and by no means would consent to the alteration of any one word of it. I truly wish it had never been moved, for I expect more evil to our cause from it than good. Yet since it was moved so much in public, if it had been rejected it would certainly have made a greater heart-burning among the dissenting brethren than yet had appeared; so at last it passed with the Assembly's allowance, but without voicing [i.e., voting]. You may see it now in print. What fruits it shall produce we know not.

Thomason's date for its appearance is 28 December; it is a rare tract.

On 28 December, 1643, Lightfoot was called out, and was shewn a bundle of copies of a book. Baillie (ii, 121) calls it "a printed sheet of admonitions to the Assembly from an old English Anabaptist at Amsterdam, to give full liberty of conscience to all sects, and to beware of keeping any Sabbath, and such like." This probably refers to the single sheet by Thomas Nutt, *"The humble Request of certain Christians reproachfully called Anabaptists,"* though Thomason bought his copy as early as 20 September. Whitley (i, 15) says that it was lying for signature at Barber's house in Threadneedle Street, and that it challenged the Assembly to "a debate on universal redemption, free-will, and perserverance." The scribe was about to read it, but the Independents desired "neglect, contempt, and suppressing all such fantastic papers"; it was of course essential for them to be distinguished from the extreme sectaries. "Many marvelled at Goodwin and Nye's vehemency in that matter." Others wanted it to be reported to Parliament so as to stimulate its action. Lightfoot says, "after all it was not read"; Baillie says, "the matter was left to be considered, as the committee should think fit." Once again the Independents had succeeded in preventing a definite decision.

The members of the Assembly also carried on a crusade in the London pulpits; they "made all the pulpits in London, but especially St. Margaret's, Westminster, to ring against the Anabaptists, Brownists, etc., so loud that the divine echoes thereof might easily be heard beyond the River Tweed" (*A Sacred Decretall,* p. 10).

Individual cases were discussed in the Assembly: on 26 January, 1643–4, Temple asked about "a Frenchman who hath been some years in England, who holds most dangerous things concerning Christ"; but the Assembly decided that "as yet" they had not been authorised to deal with such cases. On 16 February, the Commons passed on to the Assembly a complaint by the Earl of Manchester about disorders in church. On 19 February, the Assembly reported to the Lords about Robert Baldwin; he had preached his tenets at Hatfield on 8 February, and thereafter at Hempstead. The Lords sent for him, and instructed the Assembly to send a preacher to Hempstead on 28 February. Meanwhile, on the 27th Baldwin challenged William Tutty, the minister of Totteridge, to a dispute at Mimms on March 6th. But on the 2nd he was examined by the Lords about this challenge, and was sent to the Gatehouse, the keeper being instructed not to allow him to see visitors or to preach. On 26 March, he was allowed "the liberty of the prison,

provided he be not permitted to disperse or preach any of his opinions." He was not released till 20 August, "with a command from this House that he do not commit the same offense again; "if he does, he must expect to be more seriously punished." Burges was the preacher sent to Hempstead and on 2 March he told the Lords that he had found the people there "much possessed with Anabaptism and Antinomianism and other sects." The trouble at Hempstead was that the incumbent, George Kendall, was himself an Anabaptist. The *D.N.B.* identifies him with the rector of Bilsland, Cornwall; but it is hardly possible that one who had so strongly held Anabaptist views that he had been imprisoned for them should later have taken so prominent a part in Presbyterian organisation. He was examined before the Lords on 14 March, and gave a full account of his tenets, saying among other things that "a parochial church in a parochial frame is not the visible Church of Christ." They committed him to Newgate; moreover, seeing that he had been put into Hemel Hempstead by an order of Parliament, they asked the Commons to concur that in future no one should be put in but such as shall be approved by the Assembly. On 21 March, the Lords allowed him the liberty of the prison, under the same conditions as Baldwin. On 4 April, he petitioned for release on bail; it was reported that "lately he had written a letter to Mr. Burroughes, one of the Assembly of Divines, wherein are some things which will induce their Lordships not to release him yet." Burroughes was asked to bring the letter the next day, and he was released on 8 April, "giving sufficient security, in a bond of £500, not to publish any of his opinions, either in the press or elsewhere, contrary to the doctrine of the Church of England." The trouble at Hempstead was not over; on 16 April, Burges gave the Assembly news which he had received by letter of an Anabaptist preacher. On 7 May, there came a petition from the parishioners there, which was passed on to the Lords, with a recommendation of the minister named in it, James Ashton. On 18 May, the Lords resolved that he should be appointed in place of Kendall, and the Commons concurred. The divines seem to have left the question of the sectary to the new incumbent to deal with.

On 29 May, 1644, a letter came from Guernsey, which the Assembly resolved to present to the Commons. It was from the "collogue," or presbytery of the island, and complained that Thomas Picot was "renouncing the discipline of that church." Next day the Commons ordered that he be sent for, and placed the matter in the hands of the Committee of Plundered Ministers. The Earl of Warwick sent Picot

as a prisoner to London, and sent a letter to the Assembly (19 July) with depositions about him. These were referred to a committee of three "to translate them [from French, of course] and give an account of the substance of them; and to make report with all convenient speed." On 8 August, the Divines asked Parliament that Picot "may not be dismissed till the Assembly have declared their opinion of him and his cause." He was a preacher in Guernsey, and it was said that he abjured the church discipline there established, calling it vile names, and that he would not administer the sacraments. It was also reported that he said that in 1655 there would be a perfect reformation, accompanied by miracles. The Assembly reported to the Commons that he was an Anabaptist; that House referred the matter to a committee. On 17 September, the "agent for Guernsey" again approached the Assembly reporting that "he goes on in a higher way than ever in publishing his errors"; on the 19th the House gave the Committee power to restrain him from returning to Guernsey, in accordance with a request from the Assembly.

On 7 August, 1644, information was again given to the Assembly about Antinomian preachers in London. Lightfoot remarks that "divers stories were told" about their behaviour, and Baillie uses even stronger language about "the great increase and insolency in divers places of the Antinomian and Anabaptistical conventicles" (ii, 215). A committee was appointed to meet that afternoon (Wednesday) and to report on Friday. On that day Marshall reported that their exorbitances were "many and very high and extremely dangerous"; indeed he went on to say, "if some stop is not put to it, we are afraid it will prove so great a mischief as none of us shall be able to stand before it." There are small details in the Assembly's minutes, but the whole position is fully set forth in their report made to the Commons. After relating that they had many requests from several counties asking them to petition the House, but had counselled the petitioners to have patience, they proceed,

But now we see those men have cast off all affection, and are so embittered, that it is high time to suppress them; and we can forbear no longer, but petition this House to think of some such way for the stopping of them as you, in your wisdom, shall think fit. Some things of late done are come to our knowledge; one Mr. Knollys, in a church in Cornhill, did openly preach against the baptising of children, and on the last Fast Day did preach that the baptizing of children was one of the greatest sins of the land. One Mr. Penrose, on the last Lord's Day, did, attended with many people, in a tumultuous manner enter into a

church in Southwark, where Mr. Herle, one of the Assembly, was to preach; and by a kind of violence he and those people kept others from coming there. One Mr. Simpson, once prohibited by the House to preach, preached lately (at whose sermon a reverend divine, being present, took notes of his sermon), who said that Jesus Christ is in hogs, or dogs, or sheep; yea, that the same spirit that ruleth in the children of God ruleth in the children of disobedience, and divers other abominable doctrines. Mr. Randall who for his Anabaptism was removed doth still go on delivering such things or worse; he holds that a woman, (though wicked) if married to one that is godly, that she is thereby sanctified. These things will admit of no longer sufference.

Hanserd Knollys had renounced his episcopal ordination, and had gone to New England to escape persecution. He returned in 1641, and became a schoolmaster, in which calling he was very successful. In 1643 he was an army chaplain for a while, and the next year, returning to his schoolmastering, he also took to preaching Baptist tenets. Penrose was reported to have said (doubtless satirically) that the Parliament had more mercy upon the Anabaptists than they did deserve, in rejecting the proposition of the Divines to have them pronounced heretics. Of Randall we have heard before, and also of Simpson. Since the time when the latter had been in trouble, his condition had changed. On 13 May, 1644, an order concerning him had been brought in, appointing him to a lectureship in the City. This "caused some hot debate, for Mr. Palmer spoke very roundly and plainly in it, and against him," though he said he did not charge him with anything in doctrine or conversation.

The House took immediate action for the examination, and, if there were cause, the imprisonment of these men. It also instructed a committee to consult the Divines as to "the most expedite and best way of preventing the mischiefs" that would follow such preaching. The Lords also were informed of the position, and expressed willingness to take action, if information were laid before them. The Assembly instructed its own committee to report on the following Thursday (15 August), but they had to attend the parliamentary committee on the Wednesday, on which morning, says Lightfoot, "there was much discourse about evidence to be got against some of their preachers, which took up a long time." The matter was causing general anxiety; on Sunday an ironical paper had been handed to Burges in church, saying, "the prayers of the faithful in this congregation are earnestly desired for the conversion of certain late prelatical men, but now time-serving presbyters, who under the specious names of Brownist and Anabaptist

are now mainly endeavouring the persecution of many of God's people." The upshot of the Assembly's action was the adoption by the Commons on 14 August of the interim regulations for the ordination of ministers.

The Assembly, however, did not drop the matter. A report was given in on 22 August, and caused some debate. Baillie wrote a few days later (ii, 224), "Our next work is to give our advice what to do for suppressing of Anabaptists, Antinomians and other sectaries. This will be a hard work; yet so much as concerns us will be quickly dispatched; I hope in one session." But the question was not so easily settled. When the debate about liberty of preaching was in progress, on 2 September, Goodwin claimed that they ought first to debate what was heresy and schism; he was, however, called to order as straying from the point. New facts continued to be adduced: on 3 September, Cawdry reported what he had heard John Goodwin say about the mortality of the soul. Next day the report to the Commons was approved. On 16 September, Baillie, in a chastened vein, wrote (ii, 228), "We spent a number of sessions on some propositions of advice to the Parliament for suppressing Antinomians, Anabaptists, and those who preach a liberty for all religions. Even in these our good Independents found us great difficulty, and when we had carried our advices against their mind, they offered to give in contrary reasons to Parliament." Accordingly, on 19 September, the Assembly submitted to the Commons "their conceptions for suppressing of Antinomianism and Anabaptism." The Commons did nothing till 1 November; they ordered it to be considered on the 4th and again on the 7th. One is inclined to think that their activity then may have been stimulated by a letter from Lord Sinclair at Newcastle on 23 October, 1644, to the House of Lords. He asked them to "become earnest solicitors with the Assembly to put that business [namely, church government] to a period, and with the Parliament that where the foundation is laid by the Assembly, their authority be not wanting for the completion of the work"; this, he says, would be "powerful to remove those great prejudices raised against our cause by the abundance of variety of Sectaries, Separatists, and Schismatics living amongst us, to the great scandal of the gospel and the professors thereof." This was communicated to the Divines by the Lords on 1 November. On 15 November, the Commons decided that no unordained person might preach, save those on trial for the ministry, and ordered further consideration on the 18th, which however did not take place.

On 25 April, 1645, the Commons reiterated this, and the Lords concurred. A pamphleteer comments thus: "the new ordinance . . . that no person or persons be permitted to preach that is not ordained a minister is but a patent of the Spirit to get the whole trade into their own hands, and so rob the people with what ware and of what price we please." He also tells that persons "stuck bills upon the posts to assemble the rude multitude in Bell Alley in Coleman Street, to put that sacred ordinance in execution." Coleman Street was where that bold and popular heretic, John Goodwin, preached.

On 20 May, 1645, information was again given against Knollys for "preaching in private," and for Antinomian opinions, and a committee was appointed to consider this and all similar disorders. Five days earlier a committee had been appointed to call the attention of Parliament to "such as preach Arminianism and against the Sabbath." On 16 June, Sir John Lenthall gave information against some Anabaptists, which was passed on to the Committee of Plundered Ministers. On 14 August, a report was once more made of men "revolting to Anabaptism and yet maintaining their public ministry," and again a committee was appointed.

Blasphemy also, of a grave kind, was dealt with. On 17 October, 1644, the judges of assize in Surrey reported that Jane Stratton of Southwark had said that Jesus was a bastard, and that John Hart had declared that the Earl of Essex made him, Sir William Waller redeemed him, and the Earl of Warwick sanctified him. It seems probable that this latter case was one of insanity and not of deliberate profanity. The Assembly saw the opportunity for petitioning the House for some laws against blasphemy, and appointed a committee of three. In reply to the question of the judges they said that these people "deserve no favour, but that exemplary justice be inflicted upon them."

On 1 November, 1644, the Lords had a letter from Newcastle concerning sects and factions there. The Earls of Warwick and of Pembroke brought it to the Assembly, and asked for expedition in their work. Burges' promise of this did not seem to satisfy Pembroke, who remarked, "If you do not put a government, I know not who shall live to see the heads of heresy cut off." On 22 November, Chambers reported the preaching in a great house, by one Webb, of many blasphemies; this was confirmed by Caryl, and Chambers was told to report it to the Lords. He had contracted heterodox opinions during a sojorun at Greifswald and in Poland. He had sent some papers to his friend Roger Ley, who however thought it his duty to give information about

them. He is said to have used violent terms, calling the Trinity "a mystery of iniquity, a three-headed monster, a figment, a tradition of Rome." In reporting it to the Lords, Chambers said that the case was one which "they trembled to think on; but to discharge their duty to God, they cannot but reveal it to their Lordships." It was a statement by Edward Grange, whom they describe as "a man of credit," of "certain blasphemies, delivered in a private house in a sermon by Mr. Thomas Webb, in Queen Street in Covent Garden, about September 27, 1644." Among other things, he said that some scripture statements were untrue, that the Prince of the Air was God, that Christ came to live thirty years and to die, and for nothing else, and that the soul died with the body." The Lords ordered his arrest. Next day he came, made some explanations, and said that "he was one that exercised his gifts; but he hath not done it these two months, since he hath been told that it is against the law." The Lords ordered Burges, Calamy, Obadiah Sedgwick, Caryl, and Chambers to examine him, and try to bring him to orthodoxy, and to report. Webb was to be kept in custody in the meantime. Sedgwick, Chambers, and Caryl examined him; he denied most of the charges and explained others; he petitioned for release, professing that he "had received much information" from the divines, and now disclaimed all the blasphemies attributed to him. The Lords ordered his release on 2 December. He seems to have been a man of little weight.

On 10 June, 1645, the Assembly received letters from the ministers at York about Paul Best's blasphemous opinions. Baillie says (ii, 306), "Paul Best, the Antitrinitarian, took up some of our days." It seemed of such importance to the Divines that they resolved that the whole Assembly and not merely a deputation as usual, should go to the Commons, and that the prolocutor and both assessors should speak. This was accordingly done; the House thanked them, ordered that Best should be committed to prison, and told the Committee of Plundered Ministers to put aside all their business to sift the truth of this information, with the help of any of the divines they might think desirable. On 2 July, a letter arrived from Hull about Best, and the Assembly appointed a committee of twelve to attend the parliamentary committee, and on 5 August, added another ten members to it. On 11 September, they received an order (presumably from the Committee of Plundered Ministers, for it does not appear in the Commons Journals) and arranged for a conference with Best the next day, adding yet another three members to their committee. A report was read on 15 September, and transmitted to the parliamentary committee. On 24 September, the

Commons added all the lawyers in the House to their committee, and asked for a report; but on 16 December, the Assembly had to request the Commons to take speedy action, because even since his imprisonment Best had "by writing and otherwise" spread his opinions. The report of the parliamentary committee was not given till 28 January, 1645–6, when the House forbade any recourse to him in prison, condemned him to death, and asked for a report in a week's time on the present state of the law on blasphemy. During the latter part of February, and in March, the Commons asked the advice of the lawyers more than once, and on 28 March an ordinance for the death sentence was read twice. Best was to be brought to the bar and the Committee of Plundered Ministers was to draft the charges. The divines were to have access to him, and "endeavour to make him sensible of his errors, and to reclaim him from them." Accordingly on 31 March, "Paul Best was brought before a committee of Assembly. He persisted in his errors." It is a grim fact that the next item recorded in the minutes of Assembly is a debate on liberty of conscience. At Best's trial on April 4th the Commons named seven of the Divines to confer with him, and gave him leave to ask for others. The trial was adjourned for a week, and then deferred till April 15th, then to the 18th, and again to the 22nd, and to the 30th. On that date he was remanded till 8 May, and then till 3 June; and there is no record of any action on this last date. On 24 June, it was decided that he was to be brought to the bar on 1 July, and all the lawyers in the House were ordered to attend. There is again no record of any action, and he remained in prison, the Commons conveniently forgetting about him, as an execution would certainly have caused trouble. While in prison he wrote *"A letter of Advice unto the Ministers assembled at Westminster, with Several Parcels of Queries. . . ."* On its long title page he said, "Paul Best (whatever his errors at present) as well as Paul the Apostle, once a blasphemer, may one day become a convert, if he be not untimely starved to death beforehand." Another pamphlet, written while he was in prison, "Mysteries Discovered; or, A Memorial Picture," was ordered by the Commons on 24 July, 1647, to be burnt by the hangman, but he was quietly released (Dr. Grosart thinks through Cromwell's influence) towards the close of 1647.

The Assembly dealt with other heterodox books. The Wardens of the Stationers' Company reported on 17 June, 1645, about a book "taken that morning, with the person divulging it, containing dangerous expressions against the Parliament." The Divines thanked them, but,

manifestly considering this as outside their sphere, told the Wardens to take such steps as they thought fit. Apparently they were able to deal with the matter, for there is no record of their approaching either the Lords or the Commons.

On Friday, 11 July, 1645, there was "a motion about a book that maintains God to be the author of sin." This was John Archer's *Comfort for Believers*. The Divines were instructed to inform both Houses of Parliament and to desire the suppressing of the book and the burning of all copies. They went to the Lords on Saturday, and to the Commons on Monday; Parliament considered that the Divines had done "a very acceptable service." The book was sentenced to be burned by the hangman on 28 July, at five places,—Westminster, Smithfield, St. Paul's Churchyard, Cheapside, and the Exchange; and the Assembly was "to declare their detestation of that opinion." The Assembly accordingly appointed four of its members to be present at each spot; but later in the same sitting (25 July), fearing that the absence of twenty members would make a quorum impossible, they appointed one only for each place. Gouge also reported that the Commons "desired some of our members to write about the position." The result was *"A short Declaration of the Assembly . . . by way of Detestation of this abominable . . . opinion . . . mentioned in a book intituled Comfort for Believers . . . 1645,"* which was submitted to the Lords on 13 July, read by them, and approved. It enumerates the heretical points, all strongly asserting God's responsibility for man's sin. There follows a long exposition of the danger and scandal of such a doctrine. The author "hath been of good estimation for learning and piety," but his doctrine is accursed.

On 11 November, 1645, Hammond's books *Of Catechism* and *Of Conscience* were complained about, and Cheynell and Tuckney were asked to peruse them. No report was given.

On 25 December, 1645, at Gouge's suggestion, a committee was appointed to call the attention of the Commons to the licensing by Batchelor of Tombes' *Apology*. Batchelor was much disliked by the Assembly for licensing unsatisfactory books. On 29 August, 1644, it was said that "he hath licensed books furthering Antinomianism and Anabaptism," but they had not a copy before them; so could not depose to the fact. His apologia, prefixed to Tombes' book is worth reprinting, though it made little or no appeal to the alarmed minds of the Divines.

The author of this examen being (as I hear) a godly man, and of the Presbyterian judgment, though I am not of opinion with him (not-

withstanding anything I have here read), Viz., that infants are not the subjects of baptism; yet the end of his writing, as I conceive, being the provoking of others to write, that so his arguments being answered, himself and those that are of his mind may receive satisfaction, I permit it to pass to the press; not doubting but since now (according to the desire of many) it is known where the chief strength of the Catapaedobaptists lies, some will be found in due time to encounter with it.

Batchelor's forecast came true; Marshall answered the book, dedicating his work to the Assembly, and presenting a copy to them on 9 April, 1646, for which he was thanked by the prolocutor; Tombes' account of the reason why he went into print, and Marshall's defence of the Assembly's inaction are illuminating. Tombes says,

It is now full nine months since that, being informed by one of the members of the Assembly of which you are one that there was a committee chosen out of the members of the Assembly to give satisfaction in the point of Paedobaptism, and advised by the same person out of his tender love to me to present the reasons of my doubts about Paedobaptism to that committee; I drew them up in Latin, in nine arguments in a scholastic way, and they were delivered unto Mr. Whitaker, the chairman of the committee, about nine months since; to which I added after, an addition of three more reasons of doubting, with a supplement of some other things wanting, which was delivered to Mr. Tuckney, and joined by him to the former papers. . . . To this day I have heard nothing from the committee by way of answer to these doubts; but I have met with many pamphlets and some sermons, tending to make the question of that point odious to the people and to the magistrate.

He refers to Vines' sermon before the Lord Mayor, and to Marshall's in the Abbey; and no doubt it was somewhat exasperating that the preachers were members of that Assembly which he had thus approached. Marshall's reply runs thus: "As for the Assembly's shutting out the due examination of this point, you are wholly mistaken (though they have returned no answer to your paper). It is true (as I told you in the beginning) that we are shut up by ordinance of Parliament from answering any private man's papers or books without leave from the Houses; but I dare speak it in the name of the whole Assembly that they would be glad were you admitted to dispute all your grounds among them." This rather sounds as though Marshall were suggesting actual membership of the Assembly, but may only mean an appearance as a defendant before a court; in either case, neither he nor the Assembly seem to have taken any step to bring about the situation of which they "would be glad."

On 29 January, 1645–6, the Commons referred the Confession of Faith of the seven Anabaptist Churches in London to the Committee of

Plundered Ministers, with power to advise with the Assembly if they thought fit. The minutes have no evidence that the Committee ever did so, nor is there any report to the Commons.

On 28 February, 1647–8, a book of Acontius was referred to a committee, which was enlarged on 3 March. The Assembly thanked Cheynell for the report on 8 March, and said that "if himself, or any other of this committee, shall, as from themselves, publish anything for vindicating of the truth, and discovering the danger in that book, it will be acceptable to the Assembly." Here again it is evident, as in Tombes' case, how the Assembly felt its hands tied as regards official action.

Chapter XI

THE THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES

The revision of the Thirty-nine Articles was the first work allotted to the Assembly. This was the natural method of approach to the task of reviewing the doctrine of the Church of England; only after the acceptance of the Solemn League and Covenant did it become evident that a new formulation of doctrine, and not a mere revision, was necessary, under the changed conditions.

The Commons apparently intended to send the Articles to the Assembly in four equal portions; they resolved on 5 July, 1643, that the Assembly should consider the first ten of them, "to free and vindicate the doctrine of them from all aspersions and false interpretations." The Lords concurred on the same day. On 8 July, the Divines appointed a committee "to seek out for copies of the Thirty-nine Articles, that the proceeding may be upon the most authentic." The Lords had given them power to send for records on 8 July, and the Commons concurred the same day. The task was entrusted to Selden, and on 15 July, he "brought in many copies."

Meantime the work, divided between three committees, was going on. Upon the first occasion of a committee's reporting, the Divines found themselves faced with the Parliamentary instruction to produce Scripture proofs for all their work. They seem to have had a premonition of the large amount of time that was later on to be occupied in discussing proof-texts, both for doctrinal matters and for those of government; for they spent a whole forenoon debating the matter before they decided to implement the instructions of Parliament. No detailed record remains of their procedure in this matter, but the proofs were ultimately printed with that part of the Articles which they revised.

On Article III, Selden produced the evidence of seven translations of the Bible in regard to "Sheol" and "Hades." The Creeds (Article VIII) gave some trouble; there was a feeling that they were too highly esteemed, and the Article was modified by using the phrase that "the matter of them may be proved." This phrase, however, does not appear in the Article as submitted to Parliament. Next, Lightfoot remarks, "there was a long agitation about translating the creeds anew, and about adding some gloss upon the preface and conclusion of Athanasius' Creed, which seems to be something harsh; but at last it was concluded

that the Creeds should be printed at the end of the Thirty-nine Articles, and the determining of these matters referred thither." This device of postponing a troublesome matter was more than once adopted; in this case, the Assembly never reached the point, and the question of the Creeds did not again arise until, four years later, they appended the Apostles' Creed (with a note about the descent into Hell) to the Shorter Catechism, and merely ignored the other two.

On 22 August, 1643, the Commons instructed the Assembly to proceed to the next nine Articles, and the Lords concurred the next day. At first the work went on rapidly, so that in the earliest minute extant (4 September) it is noted "14th Article debated." The work was interrupted a little later by the urgent business of the Solemn League and Covenant; but on 19 September, Palmer was allowed to speak about Article XI ("Of the Justification of Man"). He felt it to be a serious omission that neither there nor elsewhere was there a statement about repentance for remission of sins; Gower and Vines were associated with him to draft something on the subject. Next day they were instructed to consider whether this should be annexed to an existing Article or should form a new one. Mitchell (*Baird Lectures,* pp. 146 et seqq.) gives an account of Featley's speeches on this Article, but neither Lightfoot nor the Minutes even record his having spoken. According to his own story in *"Sacra Nemesis,"* Featley agreed with the wording of Articles VIII and XI. As regards Article VIII he said that the Creeds "for many hundreds of years have generally passed under these titles." As to the correctness of the phrase "God of God," he declared, "there can be no doubt at all of it." The "descent into Hell," he reminded them, had at least four orthodox interpretations. When they came to Article XI, he asked the Divines to "endeavour so to define justification that we may justify our definition." His own definition was "An act of God, whereby He acquitteth, every penitent and believing sinner, by not imputting to him his sins, and imputing to him the perfect satisfaction and righteousness of Christ." "Every part of this definition," he claimed "may be proved by clear testimonies of Scripture"; and it excluded four types of error, those of the Libertines, of the Antinomians, of the Socinians, and of the Arminians and Papists. On the question of Christ's active as well as passive obedience, he reminded those who excluded the former of Calvin's saying, "None were ever found fault with for drawing too much out of the well of life," and charged them with drawing but one bucketful when they might draw two. In his third speech he said, "It is true there hath been some clashing among the

worthy members of this Assembly, but it hath been like the collision of steel and flint, whereby have been struck out many sparks of divine and saving truth."

Apparently this speech led to a cry for a vote; this might have been either because it was conclusive, or because it was merely recapitulatory of what had already been said. "Before the close," however, Featley read a letter of King James I urging the Huguenot divines that this same question should be "altogether buried," and "lost in the grave with the napkin and the linen clothes wherein the body of Christ was wrapped."

One cannot help wondering, from the silence of Lightfoot and of the Minutes, whether Featley's intervention was as weighty as *"Sacra Nemesis"* represents; and even whether the speeches may not have been somewhat polished up before appearing in print.

In Article XIII ("Of Works before Justification") the words "pleasing to God" are used, in place of "pleasant to God," because of their "more proper answering to the Latin *grata*." By 20 September, the Divines had reached Articles XVIII and XIX, and sent them to two committees. They never dealt with any subsequent ones; indeed the Commons never sent them the remaining ones for consideration. On 23 September, Temple reported to the Commons in writing what had already been done, but the House took no action.

On 4 October, it was moved to "ley the business of the 19th Article aside for a day or two, to see what may be sent to us"; but next day there was much disputation over Article XV ("Of Christ alone without sin"); and on 9 October, they were back again to Article XIII, when Sterry (suspected of Antinomianism) seems to have been misunderstood, and pled that what he had said was not his "peremptory judgment." The point, as stated by the prolocutor, was "the confounding of justification with sanctification," and Temple remarked "much of this discourse entrenches upon those opinions now abroad in the city." Seaman was desirous that Sterry should state his views, apparently in writing, in order that "we might do neither him nor ourselves an injury"; and Sterry expressed his appreciation of the attitude of the Assembly. The Article was again sent to a committee.

Two days later (11 October), Burges said, "We have been long upon these Articles. I desire that we may so husband our time by making all the haste we can through the Scriptures propounded." The next day, however, it was resolved to lay aside the business of the Articles, in

order to consider an order of the Lords and Commons, to discuss discipline.

Thereafter the interest in them is curiously fitful, until their disappearance in 1647. Nothing was heard about them for about eighteen months. On 21 April, 1645, four days after the Commons had instructed the Divines to proceed in producing the Confession of Faith, the committee was told to review the Thirty-nine Articles, and "to consider how far they or any of them may be useful to be recommended to both Houses of Parliament for the present, till a Confession of Faith can be drawn up. . . ." Again on 18 September, 1646, after the Commons had sent a message to the Divines to hasten, they discussed whether the Articles should be reviewed, but decided not to do so. On 10 December, 1646, the Commons having asked for "what is finished upon the Articles of the Church of England, and the Scriptures for it," a small committee, four in number, was told to meet that afternoon, as also on 15 December, and (with two members added to it) on 28 December. Their report was submitted on 5 and 6 January, 1646–7, and the Articles were to be transcribed for transmission to the Commons. On April 13, 1647, a Preface was submitted, but not approved.

Finally, on 22 April, the Commons asked that the work on the Articles, so far as it had proceeded, should be submitted. This was only as far as Article XV, the revision of the next four never having been completed. On 29 April, the Commons ordered this report to be printed along with the Confession of Faith. This was done, and that is the last we hear of the Articles. The original Articles, however, still held their sway in the meantime. On 13 October, 1647, the Commons resolved that liberty of conscience granted shall extend to none that shall preach, print, or publish anything contrary to the first fifteen of the Thirty-nine Articles, except the eighth. And on 23 October, the Lords instructed Drs. Heath and Aylett not to press ministers at their induction to subscribe to them. In June, 1648, the Confession, modified by Parliament was authoritatively issued under the title, "Articles of the Christian Religion."

Although so much time and care had been spent over this matter, Hetherington dismisses it as not properly "any part of the Assembly's proceedings." Warfield takes much the same position, saying indeed that the Parliament had known, as far back as June, what the real work of the Assembly would be, and merely gave the Articles as a stop-gap occupation. This view is disproved by the sustained, or perhaps one should say renewed, interest of the Commons in them so late as April

1647. They were also used as part of the negotiations with Charles at Carisbrooke on 4 March, 1648. In that printing of them (in the *Four Bills*) there are five trifling variations, probably printer's errors, from the form printed with the Confession of Faith; but the Parliament omitted altogether Article VIII ("On the Creeds"). The story is certainly an important indication that neither Parliament nor Assembly was so radical as to desire simply to sweep away the Articles, but gave due consideration to their revision, until the new Confession, to be used in Scotland as well as in England, rendered this unnecessary.

In most of the Articles the changes are slight; in Article IX, the imputation of Adam's sin, and the entire corruption of man's fallen nature, are clearly stated; reference to baptism is omitted, and concupiscence is definitely labelled as sin. In Article XI remission of sins is included as part of justification, and the *sola fide* doctrine is put in a rather more prominent position; on the other hand a clause is added which gives penitence a position, though of course not on a level with faith. Again in Article XIII, works before justification are categorically called "sinful," in place of a periphrastic statement. There is no need to enlarge on these points, whose importance in historical theology is well known.

The text of the fifteen revised Articles follows, as submitted to Parliament. The upper line (in Italics) gives the wording of the original Articles, wherever it differs; phrases added in the revision are indicated by square brackets in the continuous text.

I. Of Faith in the Holy Trinity.

There is but one living and true God, everlasting, without body, parts, or passions; of infinite power, wisdom and goodness; the Maker and Preserver of all things, both visible and invisible. And in unity of this Godhead there be three Persons, of one substance, power, and eternity; the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

II. Of the Word or Son of God, which was made very man.

The Son, which is the Word of the Father, begotten from everlasting of the Father, the very and eternal God, [and] of one substance with the Father, took man's nature in the womb of the blessed Virgin, of her substance; so that two whole and perfect natures, that is to say, the Godhead and the Manhood, were joined together in one person, never to be divided, whereof is one Christ, very God and very man, who [for our sakes] truly suffered [most grievous torments in His soul from

God], was crucified, dead and buried, to reconcile His Father to us, and to be a sacrifice not only for original guilt, but also for all actual sins of men.

Of the going down of Christ into Hell.

III. (No title.)

also

As Christ died for us, and was buried; so it is to be believed that He [continued in the state of the dead, and under the power and dominion of death, from the time of His death and burial, until His resurrection: which hath been otherwise expressed thus, He] went down into Hell.

IV. Of the Resurrection of Christ.

Christ did truly rise again from death, and took again His body, with flesh, bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection of man's nature, wherewith He ascended to heaven, and there sitteth, until He return to judge all men [at the general resurrection of the body] at the last day.

V. Of the Holy Ghost.

The Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father and the Son, is of one

The Holy Ghost is very and eternal God, of one substance, majesty, *substance, majesty, and glory with the Father and the Son, very and* and glory with the Father and the Son, proceeding from the Father and *eternal God.*
the Son.

VI. Of the Sufficiency of the Holy Scripture for Salvation.

Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation; so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to *required of any man that it should be*
be believed as an article of faith, necessary to salvation.

In

By the name of Holy Scripture we understand all the canonical *of whose authority there never*
books of the old and New Testament, *was any doubt in the Church,*
which follow.

(The full list is not printed in the revision.)

[All which books, as they are commonly received, we do receive, and acknowledge them to be given by inspiration of God, and in that regard to be of most certain credit, and highest authority.]

And the other books, (as Hierome saith) the Church doth read for example of life and instruction of manners; but yet doth it not apply them to establish any doctrine: such are the following:

(*The Books of the Apocrypha are named.*)

VII. Of the Old Testament.

The Old Testament is not contrary to the New [in the doctrine contained in them]; for both in the Old and the New Testament everlasting life is offered to mankind by Christ, who is the only Mediator between God and man, being both God and man. Wherefore they are not to *transitory*
to be heard who feign that the old fathers did look only for temporary promises.

Although the law given from God by Moses, as touching ceremonies *Christian men,* *thereof*
and rites do not bind Christians, nor the civil percepts [given by Moses, such as were peculiarly fitted to the commonwealth of *ought*
the Jews, are] of necessity to be received in any commonwealth; yet, notwithstanding, no Christian man whatsoever is free from the obedience of the commandments which are called moral. [By the Moral Law we understand all the Ten Commandments, taken in their full extent.]

VIII. Of the three Creeds.

three
The Creeds that go under the names of the Nicene Creed, Athanasius's Creed, and that which is commonly called the Apostles' *that*
Creed, are thoroughly to be received and believed, for they may be *warrants*
proved by most certain warrant of Holy Scripture.

IX. Of Original or Birth-Sin.

Original Sin standeth not in the following of Adam, as the Pelagians do vainly talk; but, together with his first sin imputed, it is the fault *engendered of the offspring*
and corruption of the nature of every man that naturally is propagated

of *very far gone from*
from Adam; whereby man is wholly deprived of original righteousness,
flesh lusteth
and is of his own nature inclined only to evil. So that the
always contrary to the Spirit
[lust of the flesh, called in Greek phronema sarkos, which some do expound the wisdom, some sensuality, some the affection, some the desire of the flesh, is not subject to the law of God], and therefore in every person born into the world, it deserveth God's wrath and damnation. And this infection of nature remains, yea, in them
regenerated *the lust of the flesh, called in the Greek*
that are regenerate, whereby
phronema sarkos, which some do expound the wisdom, some sensuality, some the affection, and some the desire of the flesh, is not subject to the law of God.
[the flesh lusteth always contrary to the Spirit.] And although there is no condemnation for them that [are regenerate and do]
and are baptized;
believe, yet the apostle doth confess that concupiscence
hath of itself the nature of
and lust is truly and properly sin.

X. Of Free-will.

The condition of man after the fall of Adam is such, that he cannot
and
turn or prepare himself, by his own natural strength and good works, to faith and calling upon God; Wherefore we have no power to do good
pleasant
works pleasing and acceptable to God, without the grace of God by Christ [both] preventing us, that we may have a good will [and working so effectually in us, as that it determineth our will to that which is good], and [also] working with us when we have that will unto good.

XI. Of the Justification of Man before God.

We are [justified, that is we are accounted] righteous before God [and have remission of sins, not for or by our own works or deservings,
the merit of
but freely by His grace], only for our Lord and Saviour
by faith, and not for our own works or deservings.
Jesus Christ's sake,

[His whole obedience and satisfaction being by God imputed unto us, and Christ with His righteousness being apprehended and rested on by faith only.] The doctrine of justification by faith only is an *Wherefore that we are justified by faith only is a most* wholesome doctrine, and very full of comfort *as more largely is expressed in the Homily of Justification.*

[Notwithstanding, God doth not forgive them that are impenitent, and go on still in their trespasses.]

XII. Of Good Works.

Good works, which are the fruits of faith, and follow after justification, cannot put away our sins, and endure the severity of God's judgment, yet are they [notwithstanding their im- *Albeit that these* perfections in the sight of God] pleasing and acceptable unto Him, in [and for] Christ, and do spring necessarily out of a true and lively faith, insomuch that by them a lively faith may be evidently known, as a tree discerned by its fruit[s]. *to God,*

XIII. Of Works before Justification.

Works done before justification by Christ, and regeneration by *the grace of* *the inspiration of* His Spirit, are not pleasing [un]to God, forasmuch as they spring not of faith in Jesus Christ; neither do they make men meet to receive grace, or (as the school-authors say), deserve grace of congruity; yea, rather, for that they are not done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done, they are sinful. *pleasant* *we doubt not but that they have the nature of sin.*

XIV. Of Works of Supererogation.

Voluntary works besides, over and above God's commandments, which they call works of supererogation, cannot be taught without arrogance and impiety; for by them men do declare that they do not only render unto God as much as they are bound to do; but that they do more for His sake than of bounden duty is required: whereas Christ saith plainly, When you have done all [these things] that are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants [we have done that which was our duty to do]. *arrogancy* *to*

XVI Of Christ alone without Sin.

Christ in the truth of our nature was made like unto us in all things, *except,*
sin only excepted, from which He was clearly void both in His flesh and in His spirit; He came to be the Lamb without spot, who by sacrifice of Himself once made, should take away the sins of the world; and sin (as Saint John saith) was not in Him. But all we the rest, although bap- *born again in Christ,*
tized and regenerate, yet offend in many things, and if we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.

Chapter XII

THE METRICAL PSALMS

After the Confession of Faith and the Shorter Catechism, the best known piece of work by the Divines is what are usually called the "Scottish Metrical Psalms." They were neither originated, nor were they finally completed by the Assembly; but it was due to their adoption by that body that they came, as a part of the proposed uniformity of worship, to be used in Scotland, and their singing by the Covenanters endeared them to the heart of that nation.

The collection was made by Francis Rous, who edited versions by various authors. On 20 November, the House of Commons resolved "that the Assembly of Divines be desired to give their advice whether it may not be useful and profitable to the church that the Psalms set forth by Mr. Rous be permitted to be publicly sung, the same being read before singing, until the books be more generally dispersed." This was not unexpected; on 9 October, in prospect of his journey to London, Baillie writes (ii, 101), "it is likely that one of the points of our conference will be anent a new Psalter"; he asks Sir William Muir of Rowallan to send him "a perfect copy" in manuscript of his version, which, he says, "I did like better than any other I have seen." And when the matter was under consideration he writes (ii, 121), "I wish I had Rowallan's Psalter here."

On 22 November, Sir Benjamin Rudyard communicated the desire of the Commons to the Assembly. Gouge commended Rous's version as a good translation; Vines, however, desired a committee to examine it. Baillie (ii, 120) says that Rous had "helped the old Psalter, in the most places faulty." Henderson told the Assembly that he preferred this version to one made in Scotland by Lord Stirling, but that it still needed revision, and it would be good to have uniformity in the whole island. It is very interesting, in view of long prevalent Scottish custom, to find that Henderson said, "for the reading of the line, it will require some consideration."

Henderson was not alone in thinking that revision was necessary. Baillie records (ii, 121) that many opposed this motion, "the most because the work is not so well done as they think it might"; and he says that the Scots will oppose it, "for the Psalter is a great part of our uniformity, which we cannot let pass till our church be well advised with

it." Nye, ever a champion of individualism, "did speak against a tie to any Psalter, and something against the singing of paraphrases, as of preaching of homilies."

The Assembly allocated fifty Psalms to each of its three committees. Lightfoot records that the second committee, of which he was a member, delegated this work on 11 December to six of its members, of whom he was one. On 19 December, Burges, in his constant watchfulness over the progress of business, spoke of the delay, and the three committees were told to meet that afternoon, to finish their work, and the chairmen were "to deliver their papers to Mr. Rous." Rous said, "What faults are found, I shall thankfully receive them from the committee, and if I can do them right, I will; if not, return." The accuracy of the translation, which has always been recognised as an important characteristic, gave the Assembly concern. On 22 December, Gibson proposed "that a select committee of Hebricians might be chosen to consult with Mr. Rous upon the Pslams, from Psalm to Psalm, for the solidity of the work, and the honour of the Assembly." "This cost us some large debate, but nothing done in it."

On 20 May, 1644, in their report to the General Assembly, the Scots Commissioners referred to the Psalms, which they said were "well liked of and commended by some members of Assembly," and reported that they had taken "the boldness (although we had no such express and particular commission) to oppose the present allowing thereof, till the Kirk of Scotland should be acquainted with it." They sent "an essay thereof in some Psalms," as well as "another specimen in print done by some ministers of the City." They suggested that the Commission of General Assembly should consider first the question of uniformity in praise, and then the possibility of effecting it by these or any other versions (*Peterkin,* p. 400). On 1 October, the Psalms were returned from the Commission to the Divines, with a request that a committee might be appointed to go over them with Rous. They suggested that there was "no necessity of receding from the common paraphrase" (a somewhat mysterious remark), and asked that, as much as may be, all the Psalms may be of the common time. A committee of eight was appointed. When the Scots Commissioners went north in December, they took the Psalms with them again; and on their return on 9 April, 1645, Gillespie reported that the General Assembly had put them in the hands of a select committee, and that "in the general they like very well the correcting and amending of the Psalter, and they wish the work may be carried on."

To this period belongs the letter (placed much later in Laing's edition) from Baillie to Sir William Muir of Rowallan (ii, 329); it was written before mid-June, when the last fifty Psalms were sent to Scotland. Baillie asks Muir, with his "great and singular ability" to consider them and send amendments "either to us, or to some of the committee there." Whether Muir's hand was in the revision or not, one does not know. Baillie also (ii, 331) asks Robert Dalgleish to get the committee to enlist the help of other experts if they will.

On 17 June, 1645, Baillie reports (ii, 280) that the last fifty had been sent to the Edinburgh committee by the hand of Andrew Ker. He urges Lauderdale to "stir up that committee to diligence; for now the want of Psalms will lie upon them alone; for if once their animadversions were come up, I believe the book would quickly be printed and practised here." In his public letter of the same date (ii, 286) he says, "Doubtless these new Psalms will be a great deal better than the old." On 1 July, he again urges haste (ii, 293), "Mr. Rous has twice in this short time been speaking to me about it." Yet once again in October (ii, 321): "Remember what I wrote about the Psalms; haste up the committee's animadversions."

But in the meantime the Assembly had gone ahead. On 12 September, 1645, they "humbly advise and desire" that Rous's Psalms, as revised by their committee, may be publicly sung in churches, "as being useful and profitable to the church." This suggests an approach to Parliament, but no approach was yet made. The Psalms had been revised in the three committees, but had not yet run the gauntlet of the Assembly itself; so they were to be read over in full Assembly. Nine o'clock each morning, "peremptorily by so many as shall then be present," was suggested. There was to be no debate, but individuals who had criticisms were to take them to the committee which had dealt with that Psalm. But this was negatived; and they resolved to read them in a committee of the full Assembly in the afternoons "the next convenient opportunity." It seems as if the opportunity did not come; so they spent the ordinary morning session on 7 October reading them.

That same day the Lords, upon a petition from William Barton, referred his version to the Assembly, "to be read over and judged by them." This instruction reached the Assembly on the 9th, and was referred to "the committee for the Psalms." On 12 November, the committee reported that Rous's Psalms had been read over "before so many of the Assembly as pleased to be present" (it is evident that the reading had not been completed on 7 October), and that faults had been corrected. Burges reminded them that they must report also on

Barton's version. This was done on 14 November; the Assembly then approved of Rous's version, "as they are now altered and amended," and recommended it for public use. As to Barton they said, "Albeit the said Mr. Barton hath taken very good and commendable pains in his Metaphrase, yet the other version, so exactly perused and amended . . . with long and great labour, is so closely framed according to the original text, as that we humbly conceive it will be useful for the edification of the church." Scholarly, rather than literary, canons of criticism guided their decision.

Barton's Psalms had been published in 1644, in 12mo, by Simons for the Company of Stationers; and in 1645 Gellibrand issued an edition, "now much augmented." Barton was "Minister of the Gospel at Martin's in Leicester." He was a voluminous versifier and issued "A Century of Select Hymns," increased later to four Centuries, and later still to six Centuries. And he knew how to advertise his wares. In 1655 he issued *A View of many Errors and some gross Absurdities in the old Translation of the Psalms in English Metre; also in some other translations lately published; shewing how the Psalms ought to be translated. Together with sundry epigrams and suffrages of many godly and learned men in behalf of the author's translation.*

The Commons immediately ordered it to be printed under Rous's supervision. This naturally took some time; the title-page of this edition bears the date 1646; on 26 January, 1645–6, the Assembly instructed two members to "give thanks to Mr. Rous for his care in the business of the Psalms, and his respect to this Assembly." This then was the date of its issue from the press. Rous's version before its revision had been published in 1643, and with the prose in the margin in 1644.

But the Commons made no order as to its public use; this was doubtless because the Scottish General Assembly had not yet given its assent to what was to be a part of uniformity in worship. Ten days later Baillie writes (ii, 326), "The Psalms are perfected, the best without all doubt that ever yet were extant. They are on the press, but not to be perused [should this not be "not to be for use"?] till they be sent to you, and your animadversions returned hither, which we wish were so soon as might be."

Barton was not to be easily discouraged; on 26 March, 1646, he petitioned the Lords that his version might be authorised as an alternative for use in churches, and the Lords passed this on to the Assembly. It reached the Divines on 9 April, and they appointed a small committee, which was told on the 21st to meet that afternoon and report next day. They did not meet, so next day three of them were sent out of the

Assembly to meet then and there; they reported during the same sitting, with an amazing picture of the possible result: "If liberty should be given to people to sing in churches every one the translation which they desire, by that means several translations might come to be used, yea, in one and the same congregation at the same time, which would be a great distraction and hindrance to edification."

The Commons had already, on 15 April, ordered that Rous's Psalms should "be printed in sundry volumes" and after 1 January next be sung in all churches, and had entrusted Rous with "the true printing thereof." They sent a message to the Lords asking their concurrence, but the Lords merely appointed a committee, and said that they would send their answer later. The whole procedure is suggestive of a minor jealousy between the two Houses about the two versions, perhaps increased by the fact that Rous was a member of the House of Commons. The Lords held the question up for months, even after the date when the Commons' order should have become operative. Indeed, on 19 June, 1647, they merely sent the order for printing to a committee, "to meet when they please." Meanwhile the Scottish General Assembly, in July 1646, had again referred Rous's Psalms to the Commission (*Peterkin,* p. 453). In December the Scots urged for a full authorisation. Baillie wrote on 26 January, 1646–7, (iii, 3), "The translation of the Psalms is passed long ago in the Assembly; yet it sticks in the Houses. The Commons passed their order long ago, but the Lords joined not, being solicited by divers of the Assembly and of the ministers of London, who love better the more poetical paraphrase of their colleague Mr. Barton. The too great accuracy of some in the Assembly, sticking too hard to the original text, made the last edition more concise and obscure than the former." He goes on to tell the impression made in Scotland, where evidently some manuscript copy was available: "With this the Commission of our Church was not so well pleased; but we have gotten all those obscurities helped, so I think it will pass."

On 9 February, 1646–7, Rutherford and Gillespie say, "The new Psalm-book cannot be ready till next week." A week later they send it, saying that it "will be a considerable part of uniformity," that the old Scots version had faults, that this "has come through the hands of more examiners." Its accuracy "is good compensation to make up the want of that poetical liberty and sweet pleasant running which some desire."

The further careful revision by the General Assembly for Scottish use, authorised on 28 August, 1647, (*Peterkin,* p. 475) is beyond the scope of this book.

Chapter XIII

SUPPLY OF MINISTERS

When Burges returned on 19 October, 1643, from reporting progress in the Antinomian matter to the House of Commons, he informed the Assembly that the House considered it a matter of importance that there should be "a provision against blind guides admitted to the ministry." The abolition of the episcopal hierarchy had left the church with no legal provision for the institution and ordination of ministers. Burges' suggestion was that, as a temporary measure, "here in London there might be something in the nature of a presbytery." It might consist of some members of the Assembly and some other grave and godly ministers. This first suggestion was just what, after long and difficult discussion, was in the end erected.

Considerable discussion followed, and cases were adduced of ordination and institution by suffragans and deans. Young commented on the double position,—many vacant charges, and many young men with university training, fit for the ministry; he suggested that, like *"Candidati theologiae"* in other Reformed Churches, they might preach. Seaman backed this view, but said that the difficulty was in the sacraments. Ordination was an ecclesiastical matter; induction he considered as "a thing merely civil," and a matter of indifference how Parliament arranged it. Ashurst, the M.P., intervened, though not a member of Assembly, saying that as regarded ordination the Commons would do nothing except by advice of the Assembly. The patrons of livings had the right of institution, but, he suggested, this might be legally vested in the prolocutor of the Assembly. Herle promptly emphasised that such matters were "absolutely of a civil nature," though the bishops had succeeded in getting them into their hands. Ley saw little difficulty about the preaching, but a man could not "officiate a cure" unless ordained. Smith reminded them that a deacon could hold a benefice; so presbyter's orders were not essential. Gouge seemed inclined to allow preaching, but Palmer thought that preaching by an unordained man was not warranted by scripture. The *"proposants"* of the French Reformed Church preached *"sub censura,"* and were not entrusted with the cure of souls. Price said, "We shall do preaching a great dishonour if we hold that preaching may be without imposition of hands." (To allow this would of course make it much more difficult to suppress the

extreme sectaries.) But Seaman at once distinguished between "a liberty given" and "a liberty taken," and again suggested that the former might be done in an emergency such as existed. Yet the Assembly, he thought, could not assume the power of ordination.

Valentine, Taylor, and Burges emphasised the great need. Jackson, himself a Yorkshireman, said, "In Yorkshire a curate was not to be had; through ten counties I found almost no ministers left." Wilson was against delay; preaching was urgently needed; "I do not think men perish for want of sacraments," he said, "but they perish for want of knowledge." Nye raised the question how a presbytery could be erected, whether by charter from the king, by appointment of Parliament, or from the . . . ," and unfortunately his third suggestion is not recorded in the minutes. Salloway said that the opinion of the Commons was that "ordination was *jure divino* to all ministers," but that a bill was preparing to appoint a commission of ministers for the purpose. Palmer, reminding them that they all agreed in recognising ministers ordained by the Reformed Churches, suggested that the French and Dutch churches in London might provide the solution. De la March gave a historical account of the position of the Reformed Church in France, and said that he was informed that the French church in London would not ordain for the pastorate outside their own jurisdiction. Seaman again interposed, saying that the expedient of going to Scotland had been tried, but they also would not ordain except to a pastoral charge within their own jurisdiction. Goodwin ended the discussion with the comment that in the Assembly the peers and commoners "may speak their mind in divinity," which, he added, he counted as "a prophesying and preaching,"—a somewhat curious view of the nature of the Assembly. It was a very interesting, if somewhat wandering discussion; and Lightfoot's entry sums it up: "There was a long time taken in agitation for some course for ordination, in regard of the present times and occasion, which kept us till almost two o'clock, but nothing could be concluded." The upshot of the whole discussion was that they laid aside, for the time, the attempt to make temporary arrangements, and proceeded with what proved to be a lengthy affair, the Directory for Ordination.

The difficulties, however, continued; on 20 November, the Commons referred to their Committee of Plundered Ministers "to examine the business informed the Houses, of divers persons that take the liberty and presumption to give orders, and likewise of divers others that take the liberty in the City and other places to gather churches, contrary to the

laws of the land and authority of Parliament, and at this time anticipating the work of Parliament and Assembly." As is related elsewhere, such irregular ordinations were already troubling the Assembly in its approval of candidates.

The question was again debated in the Assembly on 23 January, 1643–4: Gillespie records the resolution then come to. "That in extraordinary cases something extraordinary may be done, until a settled order can be had, yet keeping as near as possibly may be to the rule." This was the draft submitted by the Committee, with the word "possibly" added. There were numerous suggestions for modified wording: Herle wished to insert "in unsettled times"; Nye that it was "when God doth alter the way of His providence"; Vines expounded "extraordinary" as meaning "in cases of necessity"; Lord Saye and Sele wanted the qualifying clause altogether omitted, but Marshall replied that the omission "would open too large a gap," and Seaman supported him. Lightfoot went the length of saying that "some positive laws of God gave place not only to necessity, but even to conveniency." After several votes, the proposition was passed, as recorded by Gillespie. Next day the scripture proofs were discussed. The help of the Levites in the priests' work at Hezekiah's sacrifices (II Chron. xxiv: 34–36) was discussed among other things; Rutherford had doubted its conclusiveness the previous day, and Lightfoot, Selden, and Coleman challenged it now, but it was carried. "The votes were so indifferent in the sound of them," says Lightfoot, "that it came to voting and standing up, and was voted affirmatively; but I gave my negative." The alteration of the time of the Passover (II Chron. xxx: 2–5) was also accepted as a proof, but only after "large debate"; "the votes came very near to equality, but the affirmative bare it."

On 25 January, 1643–4, Marshall stated that the position was undoubtedly extraordinary, and the Assembly voted that this was so. There was much discussion that day and the next about precedents and principles. Seaman said that "every minister *qua talis* is morally entitled to make one in ordaining" (the same position as Nye's); Burroughes said "the ministers of London are neither apostles, evangelists, nor presbyters; so may not ordain." With a fine pragmatism, Ley said, "The ministers of London, being set upon this work, is a presbytery," and Seaman took another new position, practically the same as Ley, "that materially and substantially there is a presbytery in London." (Naturally this was not a view that would commend itself to the Independents.) After long debate, it was proposed to adjourn till next

day; but Salwey, the M.P., urged that they should do something that day, "for that the House of Commons have made an order to hasten us." It was then voted, *nem. con.*, "that preaching presbyters of London may ordain." This resolution did not call them a presbytery, yet the Independents, evidently fearing lest this would foreclose the question of presbyterial government, "did mightly deny it," and the business was adjourned.

Next day (*27* January) the Independents, says Lightfoot, "found I know not how many scruples" to yesterday's decision. Herle wanted the London ministers to be asked to do it *jure fraternitatis;* Temple said that the Assembly had concluded that ministers could ordain; could not the civil magistrate "set their capacity awork?" But this did not meet with approval. Lightfoot comments "The Independents did still intricate the stating of the question," which certainly seems not an unfair description of a speech of Goodwin's shortly thereafter. Selden tried to cut the knot by putting the question "Whether it be now convenient that some ministers in London be authorised to ordain?" Vines astutely attempted to shunt the discussion by proposing that the Independents should submit their alternative proposal for ordination. (Doubtless it also would have had to look very like a presbytery!) The Earl of Pembroke said, "The church and kingdom are on fire; let it not be burnt down before we apply some remedy." An important message from the Lords prevented the continuation of the discussion.

On Monday, *29* January, Herle thought he saw a way out, and put the proposition, "Whether the ministers of London, not yet formed into a classical or congregational presbytery, may ordain?" It does not seem to have been noticed that the form of the question implied that a classical presbytery would be erected; but the carefully guarded statement was not satisfactory to Goodwin, who said "it was a point of conscience, and therefore needed to be laid down very clear." Seaman promptly urged that Goodwin himself should state the question, and later again urged that the Independents ought to undertake this. The ineffective debate went on. Bridge tried to bring it to a head; "Either," said he, "the ministers of London are a presbytery or no; if they be, then we are to treat of the presbytery; if not, then to debate whether ministers out of a presbytery may ordain." This produced a paper from the Independents in which it was claimed that the proposal did "really and *de facto* set up a presbytery." Whitaker at once made the offer that this should not prejudice the "free debate" later about presbytery. Lightfoot (who held and expressed strong likes and dislikes) records that "My Lord of

Pembroke urged again for haste, but Mr. Nye still and still stopped us." Gillespie crossed swords with Nye, till, says Lightfoot "here grew some heat; for the Independents would not be stopped from speaking." A proposal to discuss the whole problem of presbytery occupied an hour, and came to no definite conclusion. Next day, however, the question of temporary measures was again laid aside "by the urgency of Lord Saye," and the general principle debated. Baillie's comment on the whole position (ii, 139) is, "The Independents, do what we are all able, have kept us debating these fourteen days on these two easy propositions; but little to their advantage, for I hope this day shall conclude the propositions; and now all the world proclaims in their faces that they, and they only, have been the retarders of the Assembly, to the evident hazard of the church's safety."

On 3 April, 1644, the Earl of Warwick brought an order from the Lords, "as we have concluded the doctrinal part of ordination, so to fall upon a Directory for the managing of it." To the Earl, the urgency was for chaplains for the army and the navy; men already settled in livings were naturally not very willing to undertake this. So a committee of eight was appointed. Again on 10 April, the Earl of Pembroke urged haste, and again Nye found difficulties. A committee was appointed, two Presbyterians and two Independents (a most generous proportion in relation to their numbers in the Assembly) to consider the results of all this debating, and see what should be reported to Parliament. Marshall acted as convener, and reported the next day that "the directory concerning the practice of ordination must in many things be fitted to our extraordinary occasion," admitting that he feared "many inconveniences on every side." And the discussion began again.

Smith was for laying the question aside "till the directory be drawn up, and the business of fixed and unfixed congregations resolved." Herle said that the objections taken to it "were acknowledged in the delivery of the report." Vines thought that the rules must go up before the directory, even though there was a danger of Parliament treating them as "for perpetuity." Finally the committee for the Directory was ordered to sit next day, the Assembly to be adjourned for the purpose. Nothing was done meanwhile with the other report. The Directory was reported to the Commons on 20 April; they considered it in committee from time to time, and modified it; and on 26 June they empowered the Grand Committee and the Sub-committee on Ordination to consult the Divines, and Rous was to communicate this to the Assembly.

Rous, in mild terms, reported that "they have thought it best for haste to lay aside some things"; "the business of examination is left entire to you, but something may be left out which you may think fit." He then asked for "half-a-dozen" along with the Scottish brethren. By 22 votes to 5 the Assembly fixed on four as the number, Burges having requested that the committee should not conclude anything without knowing the mind of the Assembly. The minutes record that there was a debate about Goodwin's name, but he was not included. The instructions to the committee were to "receive the reasons of the said committee" of the Commons "for any alteration in the votes of the Assembly; and to acquaint the committee of the House of Commons with the earnest desire of the Earl of Manchester to speed the business of ordination."

It was a critical moment, and cannot be better described than in the words of Baillie (ii, 198), which give details that are not in any official document.

After very great labour, we gave in, as our first-fruits, a paper for ordination of ministers to both the Houses. Oft had they called for it before it came. When it had lain in their hands neglected for many weeks, at last it was committed to a few of the Commons to make a report to their House about it. We heard surmises that this committee had altered much of our paper; but I, finding by Mr. Rous, the chief of that committee, that the alterations were both more and greater than we suspected, and that the committee had closed their report and were ready to make it to the House, without any further meeting, I persuaded him it would be convenient before the report was made, and either House engaged in anything which was against the mind of the Assembly, and of our nation [these three words must have carried weight] to confer privately with some of us anent these alterations. Upon this he obtained an order of the House for that committee to call for any of the Assembly that they please. This he brought to the Assembly, and called out Marshall and me to tell us his purpose. We gave him our best advice. On his motion the Assembly named Marshall, Vines, Burges, Tuckney, and the scribes, to wait on; and withal requested us to be with them. Great strife and clamour was made to have Mr. Goodwin joined, but he was refused by a vote. Marshall came not. At meeting, we found they had passed by all the whole doctrinal part of ordination, and all our scriptural grounds for it; that they had chosen only the extraordinary way of ordination, and in that very part had scraped out whatever might displease the Independents, or patrons, or Selden and others who will have no discipline at all in any church *jure divino,* but settled only upon the free will and pleasure of the Parliament. Mr. Henderson and the rest reasoned against the dangerousness and disgrace of this their way so clearly that sundry of the gentlemen repented of their alterations, yet the

most took all to advisement. We, in private, resolved we would by all means stick to our paper; else, this being the first, if we yielded to these most pernicious alterations, which the Independents and Civilians underhand had wrought, the Assembly's reputation was clean overthrown, and Erastus' way would triumph. What will be the end of this debate, God knows. If the Assembly could stand to their deed, we hope to have Parliament reasonable, for they will be loth to lose the Assembly, and us [again note the emphasis] for the pleasure of any other party. But we fear the fainting of many of our House; this holds our mind in suspense, only we are glad we have taken the matter before it came to the House.

When the committee of the Divines was called upon to report (2 July, 1644) Bridge made the comment, "I think you will want men to be ordained, as well as ordination for them." Three days later Baillie wrote (ii, 201), "The great appearance of the Parliament's misleading by a few, to change the papers we give in to them, so that nothing shall be established on any scripture or any divine right, did much afflict us."

The consideration in Committee of Commons went on, and on 14 August the House approved the rules. Rous was again appointed to communicate the finding of the House to the Assembly, which he did the same day. Just before he did so, the Divines had commissioned four men "humbly to desire the hastening of the business of ordination." Rous' report was to the effect that the Commons had "held that way to avoid all questions that may in any way retard the business," and assured the Divines that it was drawn up according to their rules. It was then read. Vines at once enquired whether it was for London only, or for all England. Rous said that it was at present for London only, but "to be a pattern for the counties when they shall be found fit." Burges, practical and cautious, remarked, "It is very fit that a business of this consequence should have a little pause." That came strangely after the Assembly had so often desired haste; but he went on to explain that the selection of the ordainers needed much thought. Nye wanted a committee appointed, but the Assembly decided to go on considering the matter itself. Marshall hesitated, lest the Assembly, by naming the men, should be thought to be committing itself to the principle. Rous said, "If the Assembly think anything wanting they may report to the House; there is still remedy enough."

The ordinance was read again; and Rous began to explain some details, reminding them that the people "have a certain opinion of episcopacy." Apparently he did not get far, for the Assembly adjourned the matter to its next meeting. On 16 August, it was read a third time; a

paper from the Scots Commissioners, expressing great grief at its contents, was also read. Marshall thought that they had better confine themselves to the Commons' regulations; "we are tied by an ordinance," said he, "to debate nothing here but what we receive orders." Vines said that it was known that they were there to advise the Commons, and so this would be taken as if it were their advice. Burges emphasised Marshall's point; they must not "go into any expositions or additions till they were ordered to." Temple, while agreeing, suggested that "the House, by sending this, doth give us liberty to debate the whole paper." Palmer said that, as they had to present the names of the ordainers, that act would implicitly revoke their advice; yet they had no power to consider it. Seaman saw the same dilemma, but Herle restated Temple's view. Gouge suggested a way out, namely, to select the men, but not report the names, because "there are reasons to enquire into the whole business, and we therefore desire leave to do so." Nye said that they must go carefully; the rules had only been sent down for the information of the Assembly; moreover, to call attention to the changes was unnecessary, for the Commons were quite aware of them. Vines and Seaman said that expedition was essential, for the Grand Committee was meeting in a day or two to hasten the matter. Henderson though that a committee of Assembly might suggest to the Commons methods of expediting. Once again Baillie's account of the situation (ii, 221) is vivid. He relates how Palmer and Hill, in their Fast Day sermons, had

"laid well about them, and charged public and parliamentary sins strictly on the backs of the guilty; among the rest, their neglect to settle religion according to the Covenant, and to set up ordination, which lay so long in their hands. This was a means to make the House of Commons send us down that long delayed paper of ordination. On Thursday it was twice publicly read, so much altered from our paper that all of us did much mislike it. To encourage the Assembly to reject it we did add in the end of our prayer an express disavowing of it; and at the committee's desire we set down our reasons in writing against the House's alterations, which did so encourage the Assembly that this day, unanimously, they sent a committee to the House to crave leave to consider their alterations; for without their express order they have not so much power as to debate a question. This leave is granted; we are confident by reason, seconded by more plain and stout dealing than hitherto has been used, to make them take up their unreasonable alterations of our first paper.

The Commons had granted this liberty only after debate.

On Monday, 19 August, 1644, a fresh paper "with additions" came from the Commons. The change in the situation is indicated in the

Commons Journals for 17 August, the two important points being, "The intention of the House was, and is, that the rules of ordination should only be *pro tempore*"; and that the Scots Commissioners should be told "that this House has already referred it back to the Assembly of Divines to consider the rules of ordination." Baillie, with one of his occasional bursts of optimism, says (ii, 222), "They did recall, by vote, four of their chief alterations of the Assembly's paper of ordination; we hope we shall move them to recall the rest also." It was presumably at this point that Whitelocke made a speech, to which there is no reference in the minutes, but which he reports fully in his *Memorials* (p. 94). After a somewhat pedantic discussion of the etymology of "government," and a relation of the various meanings of "church," he drew distinctions about the precise signification of *"jure divino."* "If the meaning be that it is *jure divino ecclesiastico,* then the question will be raised of the magistrate's imposing forms, and upon men's consciences, for then this will be the magistrate's imposition *jure divino ecclesiastico.* But if the meaning be *jure divino absoluto,* this is more than an imposing by the magistrate, it is the precept of God; and they are in a sad condition, both magistrates and people, who are not under this government." After these scholastic distinctions he gave them some rather opportunist advice; church government was *jure divino* only in general, not as to any particular form; "It may therefore be not unworthy your consideration whether to give occasion for these disputes or not; if you shall think fit at this time to forbear to declare your judgments in this point, the truth nevertheless will continue the same, and not wronged thereby. If this government be not *jure divino,* no opinion of any council can make it to be what it is not; and if it be *jure divino,* it continues so still, although you do not declare it to be so." He suggested that they should report "that the government by presbyteries is most agreeable to the word of God, and most fit to be settled in this kingdom; or in what other expressions, you may much better know than I." Doubless the Divines listened attentively to so eminent a statesman; but his advice did not suit their mode.

Parliament having thus cleared the ground for them, the Assembly began to discuss the preface. This, after stating that in scripture "elder" and "bishop" were the same, said of the bishop that there had been "more unto him ascribed, and by him assumed, in the matter of ordination than was meet." On 20 August, Henderson took the lead by asking whether it was expedient to mention the bishop, and to make this statement about him. Rutherford went to the heart of the problem:

"The eyes of all the Reformed Churches are upon this Assembly"; if Parliament sent out its own plan without mentioning the Assembly's advice, it would be thought strange; and then he flatly challenged the Erastian position; "It concerns much the liberty of Jesus Christ's kingdom, for it is a free kingdom." Henderson then said that men's consciences must be satisfied, so that they might give willing obedience to the ordinance. The Scots having thus given a lead, Herle expressed agreement, and reminded them of the Papists' sneer that "our religion is a Parliament religion." Yet he felt helpless; "we must leave it to them to their own forms." Temple wondered whether the Assembly could take action; Vines did not see why they should not express a desire. Burroughes, Independent though he was, made the Erastian remark "I have only this scruple, this would be to suppose that the Parliament may not put out anything without the advice of this Assembly." (It must of course be remembered that the Independents were realising, whatever their theoretical view, the practical difficulty that Parliamentary support was their only means of stemming the Presbyterian tide.) Nye advised a suggestion to some members of the House of Commons, rather than a formal request. Vines said that the real question was whether the House should acknowledge the advice of the Assembly, when they accept it. Seaman scouted Nye's plan; "In things that concern the public Assembly, let nothing be done privately." They then came back to the words of the preface. Rutherford pointed out (what had evidently been in Henderson's mind) that to say "more was ascribed than was meet" implied that at any rate something was meet. Gillespie agreed that this was so, and that it would "take off the proposition *jure divino,*" evidently meaning that if any special power were implicitly ascribed to the bishop, that would invalidate the claim that presbytery, and it alone, was of divine right. Henderson wanted a paragraph making clear the "extraordinariness" of the procedure.

On Friday, 23 August, the Assembly instructed the officials to draw up their answer to the Commons, to be read on Monday morning. It took this cautious form: "The Assembly doth humbly desire to be respited from nominating the men that are to ordain, till the work be concluded that they are to do." On the 29th, Burges reported that they had presented the report, and that the House was going to consider it "very speedily." From the Commons Journal it is evident that, along with the request for delay, they presented "their own paper of amendments." These the Commons considered the same day, and accepted eleven out of the thirteen; about the other two, they asked the Assembly to state their

reasons for recommending them. These two were, first, that the congregation was to be asked to pray for a blessing upon the ordinances of Christ, as well as upon the labours of the minister; and, second, that an exhortation be given to the people to receive, obey, and encourage their minister. (Both these ultimately found place in the Directory for Ordination.) Several additions to the ordinance had also been suggested by the Divines. The first was that when a minister was translated to a new parish, he should preach there, and might be again examined, but not again ordained. This was agreed to by the Commons. Next, a minister coming from Scotland, or any other Reformed Church, was to bring a testimonial of character, and of ordination, from that Church, but was to undergo examination. This also was agreed to. The third thing was the appointment of "a proportionable number of presbyters" in each county to ordain; to which the Commons agreed, with the addition, "to be approved by the Houses." On the next stipulation, that the temporary provision for ordination should be no prejudice to the Directory when it was submitted, the House took no action. The last two provided for the full recognition of men so ordained as ministers of the Church of England, and for the indemnity of the ordainers for their action. The Commons instructed Rous and Tate to report what had been done.

The Divines, according to their usual practice, left the drafting of their reasons to a committee, on whose behalf Burges reported on 3 September. There was a debate, and Calamy thought that the reasons submitted were inadequate to prove that "this way is the ordinance of Christ." There was also a debate whether the act of ordination should be by "preaching presbyters." The reasons were presented to the Commons the next day, and it was resolved that any member might have a copy of them. They were considered in Grand Committee on 7 September, and reported to the House on the 9th. The Commons resolved "That ordination, that is, an outward, solemn setting apart of persons for the office of the ministry in the Church, is an ordinance of Christ." This had not been secured without some pressure upon members of Parliament; Gillespie wrote, "I did discharge my conscience in speaking home to some of our best acquaintance in the House, which others also did for their own part" (*Baillie,* ii, 501). Parliament ordered the insertion of these words in the preamble, not in the position recommended by the Assembly. (They do not appear in the completed Directory.) On 13 September, the paragraph concerning the charge to the congregation was accepted, and the whole approved.

Rous and Harley were instructed to inform the Assembly, which Rous did. A discussion followed, the question of "preaching presbyters" coming up. Henderson said, "I think the House doth not intend to justify the ordination by Separatists," who of course in his view were not presbyters, "therefore I think a small remonstrance of it to the House will do it." Gillespie endorsed the suggestion; "it may be that the stick is in the point of prayer and imposition of hands, but not at that of presbyters." Rous confessed himself puzzled, and the debate was adjourned. On 16 September, however, Rous presented the request for the addition of these words to the Commons, who accepted them. Accordingly, on the 18th, the Assembly was prepared to nominate the twenty-three ordainers, of whom nine were members of the Assembly, and a tenth one of the scribes. Naturally there were no Independents. Five Divines were sent with the names, and on their return they reported that "the House of Commons did agree in all." And the Journal of that date contains the final form of the ordinance as sent up to the Lords, who approved it, after slight modification, on 4 October.

For the sake of clarity it may be well to record the more important alterations from the form originally adopted on 14 August. The changes indicate that the firmness of the Assembly, and probably especially of the the Scots, was effective.

In place of the phrase about the bishop, "more unto him ascribed and by him assumed in the matter of ordination than was meet," we find "that unto him ascribed, and by him assumed, as in other things, so in the matter of ordination, that was not meet." It was added that episcopal ordination was "not to be disclaimed by any that received it." This had been done, of course, by some Brownists and Separatists, and had it been admitted would have impaired the authority of the twenty-three episcopally ordained ministers themselves to ordain others.

The definition of ordination, and its recognition as an ordinance of Christ are in the preamble. The temporary nature of the provision, and the work of the Assembly were stated. The Ordinance is "after advice had with the Assembly of Divines," and it is to be in force "during the present exigencies of the armies, of the navy, and of many congregations destitute of faithful ministers of the Gospel, and until a government of the Church be formed, up to the full power and work fit, and the whole course of the ordination of ministers in an ordinary way be set up." Thus was avoided the difficulty felt, for differing reasons, by both Presbyterians and Independents, that the ordinance might be interpreted as erecting a presbytery.

The examination of candidates was to be by the ordainers, or at least seven of them. Notwithstanding this provision, the work of the Assembly in this matter continued. Among the testimonials to be demanded were that he had taken the Covenant, what his university degrees were, and that he was at least twenty-four years old. A paragraph was added, apparently spontaneously by the Commons, providing for due notice, both read and affixed to the church door, stating a day when objections might be raised.

The clause about the charge to the people was amplified. At first it read, "to exhort the people to carry themselves to him as their minister in the Lord"; the new form was "exhort and charge the people, in the name of God, willingly to receive and acknowledge him as the minister of Christ, and to maintain, encourage, and assist him in all the parts of his office." The Lords struck out the words "to obey and submit to him as having rule over them in the Lord." They apparently feared any phrase which might seem to restore autocratic power to the clergy. This cost the Assembly "all day in debating" whether they should press for the restoration of the clause (*Lightfoot,* p. 314). But in the end, Byfield was instructed to go on with the printing, and the Assembly resolved that "the ordinance thus passed may, with a good conscience, be put in execution by the ministers appointed to examine." Such a decision, of course, implied a claim by the Assembly of its right to declare that any ecclesiastical Act of Parliament should not be obeyed. There was to be a national church, established by Parliament, but it should not be Erastian—a problem not even to-day solved south of the Tweed.

The provision of examination, but no reordination, in cases of removal was directed against the view of some Separatists that ordination was only to the pastorate of one particular congregation.

Two paragraphs were added, that men so ordained were "for ever reputed and taken to all intents and purposes for lawful and sufficiently authorised ministers of the Church of England," and that the ordainers were indemnified by Parliament; and finally that the ordinance was only for twelve months and no longer.

Such were the many modifications, more or less important, which this emergency provision for the sore lack of ministers underwent in the course of its consideration by two bodies whose views were by no means coincident. While Parliament made evident its superior authority, it did not disregard the advice of the body which it had created for that purpose. Vicars' account of the reception of this practical step is that "the thing itself was divers times put in execution in divers churches in

London, in such a holy, reverend, and religious manner as did exceedingly joy the hearts of all God's people to see, in the most pious and apostolical performance of it" (*Burning Bush,* p. 29).

On 22 July, 1644, as the result of a petition from Wapping, the Lords instructed Dr. Johnson to produce to the Assembly "all such books concerning the rates, receipts, dues and tithes, touching the whole benefice of Whitechapel and Wapping, or so many of them as the Assembly shall think fit, whereby a perfect return of their proceedings may be made, according to their Lordships' reference, . . . whereby a fitting allowance may be made to such minister as shall be appointed by them to officiate in the said hamlet (Whitechapel)." No reference occurs in the Assembly minutes at the time, but it must have appointed a committee, for, on 13 October, 1645, the said committee was told to meet and think of a fit minister, and report with all convenient speed. It probably took all the interval to get the finance cleared up. Thomas Valentine, a member of Assembly, was appointed to Whitechapel.

On 19 August, 1644, the Commons had received a petition from some citizens of York, which city had surrendered a month earlier, "desiring preaching ministers to be sent down." The Commons resolved to send four, paying them £50 per annum each out of the ecclesiastical revenues of that diocese, and requested the Assembly to suggest names. They added similar instructions for four ministers for Durham, two for Lincoln, and "a convenient number" for Northumberland. The message about York reached the Assembly on 26 August, and a committee was appointed, two names—Geree and Benn—being suggested. John Geree was a Yorkshireman. He had been deprived at Tewkesbury during the Laudian regime, and was restored in 1641. In 1646 he was at St. Alban's, and in 1647 at St. Faith's by St. Paul's, and was living in Ivy Lane. He was a devoted royalist, and is said to have "died at the news of the king's death" early in February 1648–9. William Benn was a Cumberland man, and had been colleague to John White, both at Dorchester and at Lambeth, having come to London at the royalist capture of Dorchester, 4 August, 1643. In November 1646, he was one of the Dorset "Triers," and in 1654 was assistant to the Commissioners for ejecting Inefficient Ministers. His posthumous work, *Soul Prosperity* (1683) is "one of the rarest of later Puritan books" (*D.N.B.*). In his preface to it Owen refers to Benn's successful ministry of over fifty years, to his being "eminently furnished with all ministerial abilities," and to his "almost unparalleled perseverance in prayer." A report was given in at the next sitting (29 August) but there is no record of action.

On 3 September, Sir Henry Vane brought an order from the Commons, which was referred to the Committee for York, and that committee was strengthened by seven more members. On 13 September, discussion arose (*Gillespie,* p. 71) because Bowles, who wished to go to York, was only in deacon's orders. Burges and Seaman pointed out that the Assembly had debated whether a deacon should be reordained, but had come to no conclusion. Marshall, however, testified that Bowles had administered the sacraments, and thereafter Marshall and Palmer were instructed to write letters of recommendation, and they reported at the next meeting. Edward Bowles, son of Oliver Bowles, the member of the Assembly, had been sent to York after its surrender, and was chaplain to Thomas, Lord Fairfax. He officiated alternately at the Minster and at Allhallows on the Pavement. His preaching was very popular even with hearers not of his own party; without being a forward man, he is said to have "ruled all York" (*D.N.B.*).

On 16 October, it was resolved that the ministers recommended for York and Durham be examined before they are sent, but "not by the ordinary committee of examination"; this was passed by 15 votes to 9. The committee which chose them was to examine them; ministers for other parts of the North were to be examined in the ordinary way. A letter from the mayor of York was received on 23 October, and was referred to the Committee for York and Durham; another, on 7 November, was read and referred to the Committee for the North. On the 12th Walton was sent to York for six months, but on the 18th Sir William Allison "reported the necessity of sending down ministers to York." On 20 December, it was resolved that ministers should be heard to preach "before they be sent down to any place in the counties of Durham, Northumberland, etc."

On 3 January, 1644–5, Thomas Calvert was nominated; he was born in York and educated there and at Sidney College, Cambridge; he had been vicar of Trinity, King's Court, there from 1638, but had doubtless had to leave when the King's army occupied the city. On 21 February, "Mr. Rosewell and Mr. Balson were approved for the North." Finally, on 1 May, 1645, again as the result of a letter from York, Nathaniel Rathband was "recommended by this Assembly as fit to be the fourth minister for York." On 29 May, his parishoners at Sowerby were to be asked to consent to his removal, and a letter was drafted and adopted the next day. The four were Herring, Calvert, Bowles, and Rathband (*Shaw,* ii, 550).

On 26 June, 1645, a letter from the ministers of Durham was read and referred to the Committee for the North: when it reported on 8 July, it was instructed to draw up what it thought fit to present to Parliament. No corresponding reference is found in the Commons Journals.

On 15 November, 1644, there is a reference to Cumberland and Northumberland in the minutes, which probably refers to a need for ministers there. Wilson, who raised the matter, was added to the Committee for the North. On the 19th that committee was ordered to report on the 22nd, but there is no reference to it on that day. It is fourteen months before Cumberland is again referred to; on 15 January, 1645–6, Mr. Strickland, probably the M.P., not the divine, "informed the Assembly of a desire from the Committee for Cumberland that some ministers may be sent to them—some that are not in orders—which he doth the rather desire because so great a charge is laid upon that committee of the Assembly by some of the Assembly, instancing Mr. Burroughes." From this and the next minute it seems likely that Burroughes had been, not unjustifiably, impatient because the much needed supply of ministers was blocked by the lack of provision for their ordination. But the Divines decided that they "cannot swerve from the rules given unto them." On 20 January, it was reported that "They want ministers in Cumberland and Westmorland. Two ministers appeared before the committee yesterday, only they are not in orders. They do not scruple orders, but would accept, if any to ordain them. The committee would not send them down without orders, but desire to take this hint to send up a message to the House of Commons that they would set up a way of ordination." There was a debate, and the Committee for the North was instructed to meet speedily, and themselves consider what was fit to be done. On 9 February, 1645–6, a letter "about Robinson and Chambers" came from the Committee of Cumberland, and was referred by the Assembly to the Committee of the North; but there is no further reference to the matter.

Salisbury was in need of ministers, and on 7 May, 1646 the Commons gave leave of absence to two members of the Assembly, Conant and Strickland, and desired them to go there.

On 3 February, 1645–6, three ministers were required for Winchester. Dr. Dury was approved; he was the famous worker for a unity among Protestants, who said in 1674 "The only fruit I have reaped by all my toils is that I see the miserable condition of Christianity, and that I have no other comfort than the testimony of my

conscience." "His life was an incessant round of journeyings, colloquies, correspondence and publications" (*D.N.B.*). Humfrey Ellis was another, and the difficulties about him have been noted in the chapter on the "Examination of Ministers"; he was, however, finally approved. The third name does not occur.

Wales caused considerable discussion. Its spiritual condition was a matter of much concern. Philip Nye told Baxter that he "wished that the public congregations in Wales had good sermon books read to them (though men should call them Homilies in contempt); not to put down preaching, but where it is wanting" (*Catholic Communion Doubly Defended,* p. 39). An order came from the Lords on 7 August, 1646, asking the Divines to "certify their opinions of allowing Mr. Cradock, Mr. Simonds and Mr. Walter to be itinerant preachers in Wales." The Commons had already, as far back as 15 August, 1645, voted the pecuniary provision for these men; and on 22 July, 1646, it ordered an ordinance to be prepared, which was sent to the Lords on the 24th. On the 12th the Assembly said that these three persons had not appeared; indeed they understood that two of them had already gone to Wales some weeks before; and they did not think fit to give their approbation without conference with them. On 6 October, Cradock presented himself, was examined, and approved. Walter Cradock was born at Llangwmucha, Monmouthshire, and had been deprived of the curacy of St. Mary's Cardiff. He resided at Llanfair Waterdine, under the patronage of Sir Robert Harley of Brampton Brian; "thence he made excursions into the neighbouring counties, establishing in some of them settled congregations" (*D.N.B.*). He was an Independent, and was one of the "Triers" of 1654. In response to a second order (3 November) from the Lords, the Assembly on the 16th reasserted its position as regards the other two. Notwithstanding this the two Houses promptly appointed all three at £100 a year each. On 1 January, 1646–7, Simonds was approved, but there is no similar record for Walter. Henry Walter's house at Park y Pill was a meeting place in 1669, and he was licensed as a Congregational teacher in 1672 at Caerleon.

A question arose on 25 October, 1644, about a seal for the certificates issued by the ordainers; they desired this because such documents always had a seal, and the Assembly was asked to approach Parliament. The ordainers made the extraordinarily naive suggestion that it might contain the initials of the twenty-three of them; the Assembly remarked that there might be others appointed! No record of such a request appears in the Commons Journals. The Triers of 1654 used a

seal shewing the open Bible surrounded by palm branches, which the Presbyterian Church of England incorporated with its emblem at the Union of 1876; but whether they may have inherited this from the ordainers does not appear. They were the successors of the Assembly rather than of the ordainers.

The adoption on 4 January, 1644–5 of the Directory for Public Worship, and the abolition of the Book of Common Prayer, deprived ministers of fees for marriages, burials, etc., and on 8 January the minutes contain this entry: "Memorandum. That Parliament be desired to think of an honourable maintenance for ministers, the dues being now taken off by the Directory." On 15 May, 1645, a committee was appointed to approach Parliament" for the easing of godly ministers from immoderate taxes and free quarter and that they "have encouragement, and some course taken for the receiving of their dues." On 12 July, 1645, the inhabitants of Westminster petitioned parliament that the six members of Assembly (Staunton, Marshall, Palmer, Nye, Hall, and Whitaker) "who preached the morning lecture weekly at the Abbey at Westminster, whereby many that lived in darkness and ignorance for many years together do now see the light of the Gospel more clearly and plainly than ever," might have "a competent maintenance" from the Abbey revenues (Vicars, *Burning Bush,* p. 168).

A question whether men fit for the ministry, but who had scruples about ordination, might be employed in preaching, was discussed without result on 15 August, 1645.

On 15 February, 1646–7, the Assembly resolved to approach the House of Lords "to prevent the coming in of scandalous and unworthy ministers by institution and induction; and that there may be a registry to which men may resort to find who is instituted and inducted." A draft petition was reported next day, recommitted, agreed to on the 19th, and transcribed and sent to the Lords. It was there read twice and committed, to be reported upon on the 26th; on that day the committee was told to meet on 2 March, but there is no record of its having reported; the matter seems to have been dropped. The Journals of both Lords and Commons record a number of cases in which they had arranged for supply of preaching ministers to given localities without direct reference to the Assembly, and there were many cases of inductions in which no reference to the man occurs in the Assembly minutes.

Chapter XIV

CHAPLAINS

Before the Assembly met, chaplains had been doing good work in the army. On Sunday, 11 September, 1642, Case and Marshall had preached to the army; "these with their sermons have already subdued and satisfied more malignant spirits among us than a thousand armed men could have done." The two Sedgwicks (Obadiah and John) were also with the army at that time (*S.P.Dom.*, ccccxcii, 11). About a month later it is related that Ashe rebuked plunderers in Somerset and Dorset, and "much appeased them, though abused for his pains" (*Do., do.*, 38). William Harborne, petitioning the Lords on 24 January, 1644–5, for the rectory of Clavering, Kent, stated that he had "served the state at sea in the calling of a minister the space of five years."

In the Assembly the question of chaplains first arose on 15 November, 1643, when the Committee for the Militia asked for one for Sir James Harrington's forces, which were the City trained bands. A small committee was appointed "to take care that some ministers be persuaded to go to the army, and in special to Sir James Harrington." On 1 December, they were discussing the question of chaplains for the army of the Earl of Essex, and decided that two of their members should go each Sunday; there were three churches to preach in, but Essex had his own personal chaplain in one of them.

On 15 February, 1643–4, it was necessary to consider "a supply of able and godly ministers freely to be recommended to the Earl of Manchester," who was then at Cambridge, and six members were appointed to prepare a statement for the Commons; but that House seems to have been more concerned with recruiting than with chaplains. "Manchester's own chaplains, Ashe, Good, and Ley were strong Presbyterians, whilst the chaplains attached to his army, such as William Sedgwick and William Dell, were independents of the most extreme type" (Firth, *Cromwell's Army*, p. 317). Meanwhile, 12 March, 1643–4, the Earl of Warwick asked for "twenty ministers to go with him to sea"; there was considerable doubt whether they could get a supply of ordained men. There was "long debate" as to the propriety of sending "some that are candidates, though not yet in orders," but members were asked to bring in writing on that day week lists of suitable names. On that day, Marshall asked "whether gifted men may not be ordained for

the navy, or to go with Sir Thomas Middleton into North Wales?" There was evidently some opinion that such action might be reckoned as ordination to a ministerial post, though whether "ministerial charge" or "ministerial employment" was the correct description caused discussion. But Goodwin objected that this was a "vagous" office, and belonged to an evangelist, and not to a presbyter. "This business," says Lightfoot, "cost us all day's debate"; with the result that the phrase "some particular congregation or other ministerial charge" was accepted, and the main question left to be debated next day. The whole day, 20 March, 1643–4, was spent in discussion, and still no decision arrived at; many more or less relevant scripture passages were adduced. During that day the Earl of Manchester sent a message about his difficulties; the draft reply was discussed; it expressed a hope that he would not allow any to be received into the ministry who had "deserted their former ordination as void, and thereby give occasion to sectaries to cry out against all ordained by bishops as no ministers." The word "deserted" was objected to by the Independents, "desiring more pity and favour to those that scruple the validity of their ordination by bishops." And they "did not assent to this letter," adds Gillespie (p. 44). The voting was evidently confused, for the minutes tell that it was recorded as unanimous, and one member declared that he said "No," and another that he did not say "Ay."

The Assembly consented that Mr. Ashe and Mr. Good, two of their members, should still continue with him as chaplains, being "very willing, out of the apprehension of the necessity and difficulty of the work his Lordship is now about to afford their best assistance to his Honour therein." At Edgehill (23 October, 1642) Ashe had been one of the chaplains who "rode up and down the army through the thickest dangers, and in much personal hazard, most faithfully and courageously exhorting and encouraging the soldiers to fight valiantly and not to fly." (Vicars, *Parl. Chron.,* 209). He tells, in his careful account of Marston Moor, how those soldiers who went away were so sharply rebuked by their ministers that they would do better next time."

On 2 April, 1644, the House of Lords stated the lack of ministers for the navy as one reason for hastening the preparation of the Directory for Ordination, and on the 17th, the Vice-admiral asked, through Marshall, that the Assembly would help him "to some able, honest divine to go to sea with him." The Assembly devised an ingenious solution. Five or six "godly ministers" had been recently released from Royalist prisons, and were now "out of employment"; why not ask them to go?

Next day, Burges reported that he had ministers for both army and navy, but it is not stated whether the five or six were among them.

On 28 June, 1644, the army commanders at Chard sent a letter asking for "ministers for those parts, and chiefly for the army." This came to the Assembly on 2 July, and a committee of the western members of the Assembly was appointed. They seem simply to have passed it on to the Commons, whom it (or possibly a similar letter) reached on 3 July. The Assembly was at this time in the midst of a keen debate on the details of administering the Lord's Supper, and it looks as if they thus shifted the responsibility, for the draft reply was simply to assure the Lord General and his officers that "our hearts are with him, and our prayers are for him."

On 10 October, 1644, the Assembly desired Ley to approach Bridge in its name, asking him to go as chaplain with the Red Regiment (one of the London militia regiments) in their present expedition, which was to join the concentration of the parliamentary forces at Basingstoke. The need for this may have been that Clarkson, who had been chaplain to Fairfax, had been appointed to the living of Kirklington, Yorks, by the Lords on 2 October; the Commons agreed to this on the 12th.

On 24 March, 1644–5, an order brought by Sir Robert Harley from the Commons instructed the Divines to provide ministers for Sir Thomas Fairfax, at a pay of 8s. per day, which was the regular pay of chaplains. Members of Assembly were again asked to try and think of names. A month later, however (21 April), three members were instructed to "speak with" Sir Robert about this matter, which does not suggest that they had had any great success. Four days later, Baillie wrote (ii, 268), "We hear also that by no means ministers will come to the army; that in two and twenty regiments there is not one minister." It was this state of affairs which left room for sectaries of all sorts to provide exhorters and preachers,—a condition which had important political consequences. It was in connection with "disorders in the army" a year later 9 July, 1646, that the Lords resolved to put the orders about lay preachers into execution.

On 12 May, 1645, the Commons told the Committee of the Army to consult with the Assembly "upon the speedy sending down and supplying the army under Sir Thomas Fairfax with a convenient number and proportion of Godly, able, and learned ministers." There is no reference to this in the Assembly's minutes; probably the Committee of the Army only consulted individuals, not coming officially to the Assembly.

On 7 July, 1645, Mr. Knightley, from the Commons, asked the

Divines to appoint, from their own number or from others, chaplains to work among the prisoners of war sent up by Sir Thomas Fairfax from Dorset. This resolution of the Commons had been passed on 25 June, and there had been a quite unusual delay in communicating with the Assembly. The matter was placed in the hands of a committee of seven; as there is no record of any report from them, they presumably were a committee " with powers" and dealt with the matter themselves.

On 7 March, 1644–5 the Earl of Warwick asked for naval chaplains, and members were asked to suggest names. Two were mentioned next day, a Mr. Watson and a Mr. Norris. Watson was probably Thomas Watson, later of St. Stephen's Walbrook, who took his M.A. in 1642, but does not seem to have had a living till he went to Hereford in June, 1646 (*Cal. Rev.*). The difficulty was evidently considerable, for the ministers who were to preach on the Wednesday were asked "to recommend this to the people, to be helpful to the furnishing of ministers for the ships," that is, of course, not to put pressure upon their ministers if they thought of becoming chaplains. Again a year later (9 March, 1645–6) chaplains were wanted "for the summer fleet," and members were asked to suggest names.

On 2 August, 1648, the Lord Admiral reported that he was putting to sea, but with no ministers. Two days later the Commons asked for eight naval chaplains; and such was the urgency that the Assembly sanctioned the scribes giving a certificate upon a recommendation from a single member of Assembly. Only one name, a Mr. Swift, was approved; and it was resolved to ask Dr. Drake also. Roger Drake was an able and distinguished physician who resolved in 1646 to enter the ministry. A strong Presbyterian, he became scribe of the London Provincial Assembly in November 1649; in 1651 he was involved in "Love's Plot," but was pardoned. He was minister of St. Peter Cheap, and was moderator of the London Provincial Assembly in 1653.

Knowing the meagreness of ministerial stipends, one wonders that eight shillings a day did not prove an attraction to younger men; but it was precisely here that the difficulty of ordination came in, as there was no provision for it. As regards ordained men, the Assembly, having no authority to place or remove men, was helpless.

Chapter XV

UNIVERSITIES

The University of Oxford was in the power of the king during most of the Civil War period; the purging done by the Parliamentarians came at a period when the main work of the Assembly was ended; and it was not consulted in the matter. Cambridge, on the other hand, was under parliamentary control, and so is the chief subject of this chapter.

A letter from some London ministers came to the Divines on 17 November, 1643. It was on behalf of students who had to leave Oxford, and it supported the "erecting of a college pro tempore in London." Burges thought that "some collops might be cut out of deaneries and chapters for the cherishing of young scholars." Baillie (ii, 111) says that it "was well taken by the Assembly." On 20 November, Burges moved "to have compassion on them, and said that "the right eye" of the country was its university men. Nye was for a committee, and Smith said that it could prepare a declaration to Parliament. Gouge reminded them of a legal difficulty, "an oath against teaching Arts out of the university." The committee was instructed to meet next day and report to the Assembly. The petition was presented to the Commons on 30 November, and referred by them to the Committee of Plundered Ministers; but nothing seems to have come from it.

On 15 March, 1644, Ashe reported from the Earl of Manchester what he was doing in Cambridge University. He had sent to several colleges for a list of the Masters, Fellows, and Scholars, with a record of those who were absent, and for how long. He also wanted to obtain the statutes of the colleges, and to know where the Covenant had been taken, and where "denied." His description of some of the ejected heads is interesting. Hill was "a bird hatched under a wren" (Matthew Wren, Bishop of Ely) "and of the same feather," with this cryptic addition, "he would not suggest such things to infect the singing ones" (one would want to read "permit" for "suggest," and the "singing ones" would probably mean preaching ministers). Huddleston, Master of Magdalene, had "vented Arminianism" in a sermon, of which he was told to send in a copy, and had said "sundry things offensive in his prayer." Oldham, President of Queen's, "preached the last Sabbath, offensive in his sermon, and more foul in his prayer."

Burges said that they were grateful to the Earl for informing the Assembly, adding that "the men cast out were a burden to the whole

kingdom." They should thank him for the thought of appointing members of the Assembly in their places, but "we cannot spare them; they may be invested, and take care of the place, but we may not want them here." Ashe said that the Earl had no intention of taking them away from the Assembly. Arrowsmith, Palmer, Vines, Seaman, and Young were his selection. Vines' difficulties have been told in the chapter on "Personal Matters"; Young also wished to be excused; but the five were appointed. Lightfoot records that there was "a good deal of tussle from the Independents," none of whom were nominated by the Earl.

On 23 December, 1644, Richard Love, Master of Corpus, was appointed Master of Trinity. He was a man who succeeded in steering his ship through stormy seas; he was a member of the Assembly, but apparently never attended its sittings. He held a number of preferments; Walker, without any evidence, enters his name as ejected from a Lichfield prebend; Charles I presented him to the vicarage of Eckington, Derbyshire; and in April, 1632, made him Master of Corpus Christi. This he retained in 1643, when the Covenant was being tendered, "by the special favour of his friends, and his own wary compliance." He did not take the Engagement in 1649, yet retained his post. He was Lady Margaret Professor (1649–1660), and was very severe against any one who "put up questions against the doctrine or discipline of the Church of England in the worst of times." At the Restoration he was made Dean of Ely.

On 17 February, 1644–5, Benjamin Whichcote was made Provost of King's "after much hesitation" on his part. He was ejected from this post in 1650, "not without resistance on his part." He remained in the Church of England, and held two livings in London. At the same time Thomas Hill was approved for Emmanuel; he was a strong Calvinist, and had lived with John Cotton at Boston for a while. On 11 April, his removal to Trinity was approved. The *D.N.B.* says that he was very unpopular there, but unconciliatory. He died in 1653. Anthony Tuckney was approved in his place for Emmanuel. He was transferred to St. John's in 1653, from which he was ejected in 1660, but "in consideration of his great pains and diligence in discharging the duties of his office," he was allowed £100 per annum out of the revenues of his successor, Dr. Gunning. Spurstowe was approved for Clare, but never, apparently, inducted. On 12 May, he was transferred to Catherine's and succeeded at Clare by Ralph Cudworth, who was transferred to

Christ's in 1654, and retained that post after the Restoration, conforming in 1662.

The scholarly attainments of these men are too well known to need recapitulation; the Earl's appointments certainly were no betrayal of the quality of scholarship in the University.

On 29 April, 1644, at the request of the Earl, the Assembly made provision for "trial of those legitimate instructed scholars that come up" to receive vacant fellowships in some of the colleges. It appointed a committee for this purpose, consisting of the heads of colleges who were members of Assembly, along with a number of others; the presence of at least one of the heads was necessary to form a quorum. They reported this to the Earl, who accordingly sent a list of names recommended. Hoyle, a man of great learning, whose sermons at Stepney were said to be "too scholastical" for his hearers, was made chairman of the committee. On 5 June, he reported the names of those examined and approved, and his recommendations were endorsed by the Assembly. The next record is of three others recommended by the committee on 8 August. On 10 September, there are nine other recommendations, and from then onwards to 13 May, 1645, there are many names. No more are recorded after the latter date, presumably because thereafter fellows were elected in normal fashion, the new heads of colleges being all settled in.

The names of those approved are in the following list.

ASHURST. 7 Feb., 1644–5. Not in Alumni Cantab.

AUSTIN. 10 Sep., 1644. (*Jesus*) Not in Alumni Cantab.

BALL, JAMES. 19 Dec., 1644. (*Peterhouse*) Had come from Oxford, Jan., 1643. Died, 1651.

BALL, SAMUEL. 19 Dec., 1644. (*Christ's*) Deacon, 1639. Died 1651.

BANTOFT, SAMUEL. 10 Sep., 1644. (*Jesus*) "A noted University preacher" (*Calamy*). Ejected from Fellowship, 1650. Vicar of Stebbing. Ejected, 1662. Presb., 1672. Died, 1692.

BEECHER, WILLIAM. 10 Jan., 1644–5. (*John's*) Admitted in Feb. Died, 1647.

BIRD. 17 Sep., 1644. (*John's*) Not in Alumni Cantab.

BRADSHAW, NATHANIEL. 22 Jan., 1644–5. (*Trinity*) Ejected from Willingham, Cambs., 1662. Presb., 1672.

BROOKE, FRANCIS. 10 Sep., 1644. (*Peterhouse*) Physician.

BROWNING, BENJAMIN. 24 Apr., 1645. (*Jesus*) Ejected from Ipswich, 1662.

BURKENDALE. 10 Sep., 1644. (*Queen's*) Not in Alumni Cantab.

BYNE, EDWARD. 27 Feb., 1644–5. (*Trinity*) Fellow and President of Caius, 1648–52. Died as Vicar of Linkinhorns, 1663.

CLARKE, SAMUEL. 4 Apr., 1645. (*Pembroke*) "The Commentator." Ejected, 1651, for refusing the Engagement. Ejected from Brendon Underwood, Bucks, 1662. Presb., 1672.

CLARKSON, DAVID. 4 Apr., 1645. (*Clare*) Ejected from Mortlake, 1662. Presb. and Cong., 1672.

COE, ABNER. 9 Jan., 1644–5. (*Caius*) M.D., 1645; L.R.C.P., 1654.

COLLIER, JEREMY. 17 Sep., 1644. (*John's*) Master of Ipswich School.

CRADDOCK, SAMUEL. 12 May, 1645. (*Trinity*) Ejected from North Cadbury, Soms., 1662. Presb., 1672.

CRESWICK, JAMES. 17 Sep., 1644. (*John's*) Ord. deacon (Lincoln), 1648. Rector of Freshwater. Ejected, 1662.

CUMMINS, THOMAS. 19 Feb., 1644–5. (*John's*) Deacon (Durham), 1626. Died, 1647.

DANIELL. 24 March, 1645. Not in Alumni Cantab.

DELAPLACE, DANIEL. 28 Apr., 1645. Not in Alumni Cantab.

FAIRFAX, JOHN. 19 Jan., 1644–5. (*Corpus*) Ejected from Barking, 1662. Presb., 1672.

FIELD, HENRY. 14 Jan., 1644–5. (*Christ's*) Rector of Uffington; ejected, 1660. Died in prison, 1661.

FRENCH, WILLIAM. 22 Jan., 1644–5. (*Caius*) Physician to the Parliamentary Army in Scotland. Died, 1650.

GARRARD, WILLIAM. 10 Sep., 1644. (*Jesus*) Died, 1657.

GOODDAY, JOHN. 23 Jan., 1644–5. Studied physic. Died, 1651.

HARRINGTON, WILLIAM. 13 May, 1645. (*Caius*) From Oxford, 1641. Served in the Parliamentary Army. Vicar of Orwell, Cambs., 1654–1697.

HERON, SAMUEL. 17 Sep., 1644. (*John's*) Died, 1652.

HOLCROFT, HENRY. 1 Mar., 1644–5. (*Clare*) Vicar of Patcham. Died, 1712.

HOULDEN, ANTHONY. 12 Feb., 1644–5. (*John's*) Vicar of Holme on Spalding Moor. Died, 1667.

HOUSMAN, JOHN. 17 Sep., 1644. (*John's*) Vicar of Great Thurlow. Died, c. 1690.

JACKSON, JOHN. 10 Sep., 1644. (*Queen's*) Ejected from Bennet's, Peter's Wharf, 1662. Presb., 1672.

JOHNSON (?JAMES). 8 Oct., 1644. (*Queen's*)

KNIGHTSBRIDGE. 5 May, 1645. (*Peterhouse*) From Oxford. Rector of Spoffington, Yks. Died, 1679.

LANGDEN, SAMUEL. 10 Jan., 1644–5. Not in Alumni Cantab.

LANGLEY, THOMAS. 10 Sep., 1644. (*Jesus*) From Edinburgh. Died, 1646.

MAJOR, GABRIEL. 31 Oct., 1644. (*Peterhouse*) Ordained by 4th London Classis. Rector of Preston, Rutland. Ejected, 1662. Presb., 1672.

MOSES, WILLIAM. 10 Jan., 1644–5. Not in Alumni Cantab.

NICHOLLS, SAMUEL. 19 Dec., 1644. (*Christ's*) Went to Ireland with Fleetwood, and was dispossessed of his fellowship for absence; returned, 1657, but was not reinstated.

PALMER, STEPHEN. 4 Apr., 1645. No further record.

PLEDGER, ELIAS. 23 Apr., 1645. (*Trinity*) Ejected from Antholins, 1662. Presb., 1672.

PYPARD, JOHN. 19 Dec., 1644. (*Queen's*) Probably from Oxford. Was B.A., Glasgow, and admitted to Leyden, 1649.

RAYNER, SAMUEL. 10 Sep., 1644. (*Queen's*) Rector of Holy Trinity, Dorchester, 1670–1705.

READING, NATHANIEL. 12 Feb., 1644–5. (*John's*) From Oxford. Fellow of Christ's, 1645. Barrister of Inner Temple, 1658.

SIMONDS, SAMUEL. 23 Jan., 1644–5. (*Pembroke*) ?Rector of Colne Engaine, 1662–7.

STANLEY (?THOMAS). 3 Apr., 1645. (*John's*) Ejected, Eyam, 1660. Presb., 1672.

SYKES, GEORGE. 10 Jan., 1644–5. (*John's*) From Oxford; returned there as Fellow of Magdalen, 1648. (*Camd. Soc. N.S.*, xxix, 1881.)

TILNEY, FREDERICK. 10 Sep., 1644. (*Jesus*) Vicar of Dagenham, Essex. Ejected, 1650. Died, 1663.

VINCKE, PETER. 7 Feb., 1644–5. Ord., 4th London Classis. Ejected from St. Catherine Cree Church, 1662. Presb., 1672. Died, 1702.

WADE, TIMOTHY. 2 & 4 Apr., 1645. (*Pembroke*) From Oxford.

WOODCOCK, THOMAS. 25 Apr., 1645. (*Jesus*) Ejected St. Andrew's Undershaft, 1660.

YOUNG, THOMAS. 28 Oct., 1644. He was approved without examination, on "the earnest motion of some masters at Cambridge, and upon the ample testimony of divers ministers of the Assembly"; but

this was not to be a precedent. This was presumably the member of Assembly, who a year later became Master of Jesus College.

Of the fifty-two names, five came from the University of Oxford, one from Edinburgh, and one from Glasgow. Of fifteen, the future history is not traceable (nine of them are not in Alumni Cantabrigienses); seven others died before the Restoration. Four went into medicine, one into law, and one into teaching. There remain twenty-four who were ministers at the Restoration, and of them, nine remained in the Church of England and fifteen were ejected. Of the latter, eleven lived to become licensed in 1672 as Presbyterian teachers.

Chapter XVI

EXAMINATION OF MINISTERS: GENERAL

Next to the production of the great documents, the most important part of the Assembly's work was the examination of ministers whom the Commons proposed to appoint to a living. It went on side by side with their other work, and was their only task after 20 Sept., 1648. By instruction of the Commons the Divines appointed a committee for this work on 28 July, 1643; there were 26 members, but five formed a quorum. It was sarcastically described by a pamphleteer: "We wisely consulted among ourselves of a committee of examinations to be chosen out of us; it must not be esteemed a foundation to a court of Inquisition, that's Popery; nor a renovation of the High Commission, that's Anti-Christian; only an inlet to a thorough Reformation court, that's a godly name, and may do much good" (*Sacred Decretall,* p. 32).

The first name referred to them by the Commons was on 9 August, Mr. John Herring, for Trinity Church, Coventry. He was a son of Julius Herring, then of Amsterdam, who was a Coventry man, and his mother was a daughter of Gellibrand, minister of the English congretion at Flushing. Later, he became minister of St. Bride's, London. The first name recorded in the extant minutes is on 28 September, that of Francis Warham; the Commons appointed him vicar of Hendon on 7 October.

On 28 September, 1643, the Assembly decided upon the procedure to be adopted. The name was first to be submitted from the Commons' Committee of Plundered Ministers; then the next day, at 9 a.m., a committee of "any five of the Assembly, whereof Mr. Ley to be one" was to examine him; they were to report to the Assembly before issuing the necessary certificate for the parliamentary committee. Alexander Gordon styles Ley "examiner in Latin to the Assembly" (doubtless on Reid's authority), but his position was evidently of greater importance. The minutes give reason to suppose that a comparatively few enthusiastic members undertook this extra work, which seems from Lightfoot's journal to have included the hearing of a sermon during the hour before the Assembly sat at ten o'clock. Lightfoot himself was an assiduous attender, and in most instances records the text, but unfortunately not the name of the preacher; so, until the date when the extant minutes begin, we are ignorant of many of the persons examined, only

learning of cases which gave difficulty. Some at any rate of these sermons attained the dignity of print, for example, Constant Jessop's *The Angel of the Church of Ephesus no Bishop,* 1644, and Sampson Bond's sermon on Rom. xii: 1, on 20 May, 1646. We learn from Bond that the text was prescribed, and that so little as one day was given for preparation, and from Jessop that the preacher concluded with prayer after the sermon.

These hours had to be altered. On 10 December, 1645, the Assembly meeting at nine o'clock, the Committee for Examinations was instructed to meet at eight. One may conjecture that in the late winter mornings this was not satisfactory, for on 22 December it was told to meet on Tuesdays and Thursdays at two o'clock. It was then provided that all members should serve in turn, by batches of five, to be nominated each Friday for the ensuing week. They were to serve "as their names are in the scribes' book," but that this was not the order of the Ordinance, but of the division into three committees, is shewn by the names recorded in the following weeks. Some names were passed over, doubtless for valid reasons.

On 9 October, 1643, the Divines resolved to require in every case a testimonial as to the man's conversation, which was to be submitted not merely to the committee, but to the Assembly itself. On that same day the Commons ordered that no admission to a sequestered living should be brought to the House, except such as were reported from the Committee of Plundered Ministers, and approved by the Assembly. Baillie (ii, 111), in his naive but vivid style says, "There is a little committee which meets in the Assembly house almost every morning for the trial of expectants; when they have heard them preach, and posed them with questions, they give in to the Assembly a certificate of their qualification, upon the which they are sent to supply vacant churches, but without ordination till some government be erected in their desolate churches."

The relation between this committee and the Committee of Plundered Ministers was naturally close, and they seem to have worked with remarkably little friction. There are records from time to time of a single Divine (22 Jan., 1644–5, 1 Feb., 1648–9) and of a group of them (2 July, 1645, 11 Jan., 1647–8) being appointed to attend the parliamentary committee, and of others sent there with messages about individual cases.

A difficulty arose on 5 June, 1646; the orders from the Committee of Plundered Ministers were in an altered form, only "to examine suf-

ficiency in learning." The Assembly objected to this, and resolved that no return should meanwhile be made to that committee. On 9 June, the Assembly explained that the same difficulty was arising in other cases, and asked Dr. Smith to explain "why it is most proper for the Assembly to consider the certificates before them, and no way proper for them to be informers." Had they no power to consider a man's conversation, their only remedy would have been in any doubtful case to inform the parliamentary committee; this would have meant a dual control of an Erastian type, and against all such procedure they were vigilant.

Whether the change had been a mere oversight or not, the Committee of Plundered Ministers yielded the next day, and agreed that the Assembly should have power in their order to certify "both learning and conversation," and substituted orders in this form for the offending ones. On 20 September, 1648, the Divines asked the Committee of Plundered Ministers not to allow their clerk to deliver the Assembly certificates to ministers for their general use as a testimonial.

The question of men not ordained arose on 13 October, 1643. Gouge maintained the position, always held by Presbyterians, that "for the preaching of the Word there must be an outward call." Raynor, however, in consideration of the "iniquity of the times," suggested that "if the Assembly try them, that may be a reasonable call." On 19 October, in reporting the result of a message to the Commons on Antinomianism, Burges told the Assembly that "the way for ordination of ministers" must be considered. He himself suggested as a temporary measure "a standing presbytery in London for that purpose." Young moved that the young men might exercise their ministry meanwhile without being ordained, though not of course without being approved by the Assembly. Seaman backed him, but Gouge, Gataker, and Palmer "very earnestly and very soundly" opposed. The Assembly discussed the problem the whole morning, and nothing was done. But Mr. Ashurst, an M.P., made it perfectly clear that, as regards induction into a charge, the approval of the Assembly was necessary in every case.

Goodwin was evidently afraid that the work might become a formality, for when procedure was again being considered on 20 October, he expressed a "desire that there be no tacit preconclusion." Three days earlier Young had desired that not only the man, but also the place for which he was designated should be considered. On 26 October, 1643, it was ordered that all certificates should be submitted to the scribes, and entered by them in a register; this extra work led to the request

for an amanuensis, not granted till four weeks later. A man named Brooks had apparently been assisting in the clerical work; Parliament was asked to remunerate him, and he was instructed to deliver up the notes in his custody.

On 27 October, an important discussion took place as to the amount of education to be required. Ley asked whether a man must be able to read his Greek Testament, and suggested that "thought they have forgot their Greek, yet the food of souls is more necessary." Hoyle said, "all our learning lies in Latin books," and Herle remarked, "I am of opinion that the pastor's office is to convince; he must be able not only to feed the flock, but to keep off the wolf." If he did not know Latin, how could he compare the opinions of antiquity, and if thus unfurnished was he really a fit interpreter of Scripture? Bridge, while appreciating the value of Greek and Latin, said, "I should not make an absolute necessity of it. If they lacked learned men, unlearned might be employed; but is that the case?" It was suggested by Case that there was a difference between those already in the ministry, and those to be admitted. Hill said, "it is one of the clamorous lies upon us that learning goes down"; Tuckney on the other hand said, "Human learning is now looked at as an idol." Gibson claimed that the times were learned, evidently implying that they needed a learned ministry; and Hoyle remarked that the Jesuit Campion had upbraided the Church of England for its illiterate ministry. Young repeated what he had said ten days earlier, that much depended on the place to which the man was designated; to which Price replied, "We may think the place obscure, yet it may have knowing people therein," and emphasized the need to conflict with popish ideas. Then Young, much concerned about the right decision, suggested that knowledge of Greek, though perhaps not to a high standard, was necessary, and remarked that many men could read Latin though they could not speak it, which seems to imply that the "posing" was done in Latin. Temple summed up the position: "It is agreed on all hands that this is not to be admitted except in cases of necessity," and moved that a committee be appointed to prepare some rules. Codification was evidently required after these discussions. Ten of the most eminent Divines, including several who had taken part in the debate, were appointed.

This committee reported on 10 November, when the rules for examination were fully discussed, and it was quite evident that the work was to be done decently and in order.

"1. That the chairman of the committee begin with prayer."

Wilson thought this good, but not necessary to make a rule about it.

"2. That the party to be examined shall be dealt withal in all mildness and gravity."

Whereupon a member (unnamed) remarked dryly, "There are things that are taught of God."

"3. That the examination be made by the chairman, and if any other of the Assembly present desire to propose a question, he shall propose to the chairman, and the chairman to the" examinees.

"4. That attention be given by those that are present."

This rather suggests that they had looked on the business as the chairman's affair, and their concurrence as a formality.

"5. That the party be questioned whether he be in orders, and by whom ordained."

This, as we shall see, raised difficulties in certain cases. On 18 November, it was decided that deacons must be ordained as presbyters before being admitted.

"6. Whether he have brought sufficient testimony for his good conversation."

On 12 August, 1645, it was resolved that the testimonials must be duly signed, and the originals remain in the custody of the Assembly; and on 13 March, 1645–6, that all testimonials must be dated. These provisions were doubtless the result of experience; doubtful testimonials must have been submitted.

"7. Whether he will officiate in his own person, viz., by preaching and administering of the sacraments."

This apparently simple clause "cost some large debate, and that exceedingly long indeed, for it took up all the Friday, and that with a great deal of vehemence," says Lightfoot. Marshall raised the difficulty that there might be many (apparently he thought even whole congregations) to whom a minister could not administer the sacrament, so he wished to add "after he hath instructed them, and made them fit." This of course raised the question of mixed communion, and indirectly concerned that of gathered churches. Case dared not judge harshly; "Let us remember we were bondmen ourselves, and newly come out of captivity." Nye naturally found difficulties; had Parliament referred anything to them except the learning and piety of the candidate? Were the men to be expected to administer the sacrament according to the Prayer Book? Burges raised the point whether men should give the sacrament to those that are "not in church fellowship" (this must have meant non-parishioners, apparently), or to those they think "profane or ignorant." Calamy reminded them that the parliamentary form of

appointment was "to officiate the cure in place of the former incumbent," and queried the practicability of a closer definition. The rule had been framed to exclude Anabaptists, who would not baptize, and Brownists, who would not give the sacrament save to their own gathered congregation. He moved to recommit it, but Gouge promptly claimed that Burges had just shewn good reason why it should not be recommitted. Calamy's remark had given Nye another opportunity, and he asked why, if the rule was framed to exclude Anabaptists and Brownists, it was not made to exclude Socinians; but the irrelevance of this to the immediate question was so obvious that he was called to order. Temple hesitated to put it in the power of any man "to put a whole parish from the sacrament." Young thought the Liturgy a "real scruple," but added, "I believe where there is a company of saints gathered together, though there be no covenant, the Sacraments do pertain to that assembly," thus dismissing the need for gathered churches, whose test of membership was the "church covenant." Burroughes fearing that unfit parishioners might insist on partaking, suggested, "administer the sacrament in due order." This was evidently too vague; so Sedgwick suggested, "administer the sacraments, and be careful whom you admit." Marshall then said that the debate had made it evident that the intention was "to tie him to no more than a pastor is to perform to his flock," which after all was almost as vague as Burroughes' phrase. Rayner said, what was afterwards proved to be abundantly true, "this is like to be one of the difficultest things, to set bounds and limits to the administration of the Lord's Supper." Ley, the chairman of the examining committee, said that there was no desire "to cast any snare upon any brother." Walker bluntly asserted that "all our disputation is but a spending of time"; for in the last resort each minister must act according to his own conscience. Carter, on the assumption that there were congregations unfit to receive the sacrament, propounded the dilemma that if a man promised to administer it, he was not fit to be a pastor; if he refused, he would be turned down under the rule. Palmer moved that the rule stand, to be interpreted by common sense. Case then suggested that if the candidate said "No," he could be asked his reasons. Nye said that if it were a mixed communion, he himself would have to refuse. In the end it was voted (but not unanimously) rather along Sedgwick's line, "administer the sacrament to those that are fit" and the debate was adjourned to Monday.

That day provided them with another difficult problem:

"8. Whether he hold the Church of England for a true church, and the ministry of the Church of England a true ministry?"

Of course this question would exclude at least the more extreme Separatists, but it must not be forgotten that it was into the ministry of the Church of England, though no longer an episcopal church, that these men were seeking admission. An affirmative answer should surely, then, be a foregone conclusion. Nye, however, at once objected to the question as being ambiguous; it ought not to join together church and ministry. Burges, ever clear-headed, said, "If we let any man pass this Assembly who shall make scruple of this, consider the consequence; they will do all that in them lies to destroy us." Nye pled that any man might be left "to put in the sense he shall think good in his own eyes; if by 'the Church of England' they give liberty to interpret what they will, it sufficeth me." Bridge did what was more than once done by the Independents, tried to have the question postponed till later, when they would be discussing the whole subject of the church and its officers, and that of subscription. He allowed that "there are true parochial churches in England, many and many hundred," but could not agree to the proposition "in the abstract"; he also challenged "whether all that are in orders are a true ministry," which was not, of course, a necessary deduction from the question to be put to the candidate. Marshall at once pointed out that if this matter were deferred till they discussed subscription, so must all the rules be; he claimed that a national church was a concrete fact, "a physical truth, and a moral truth," with which they had to reckon. Burroughes argued along the same line as Bridge; but Hoyle said, "We are not speaking of the church as it is invisible, but visible, and so bad and good in it," and asked, What about hypocrites? To which Bridge somewhat testily replied, "No man speaks of the church in that sense; we meddle not with what belongs to God; but the question is whether in some parishes there be not some grossly ignorant and notoriously profane." Calamy frankly said that the question was a fit one "to keep out Separatists," and after saying that Scripture uses the word "church" "for divers congregations associated," he propounded this definition: "The church that professes such a faith and practises such a worship as that every one who sincerely embraces and performs that faith and worship is certainly saved, is a true church." The Independent view was then put in a different way by Simpson, who suggested the formula "whether there be a company in England that are the true church," a question manifestly beside the mark when a man was being examined for a benefice in the concrete existing Church of Eng-

land. Heyrick thought it was an "unanswerable question," laying bonds upon men; he pointed out that if he answered it in the negative, he would invalidate his own ministry. Price brought the matter down to earth by the remark that a man was unworthy to have any dignity, or to remain in the church, if he disclaimed it to be a true church; but Newcomen diverged again into the question of "particular assemblies," or a church made up of such. He admitted, however, that it was impossible to defer making the rules. Lightfoot put the hypothesis that if the woman of Samaria had asked Jesus whether the church of the Jews were a true church, He must have said that it was, "for otherwise God had no church in the world; and yet the church of the Jews was at that time in a worse constitution than the Church of England now." Nye began to discuss the position of the Church of Scotland; it had an organisation, but the "glass and cement" of the Church of England was now destroyed. Ley, on whom would rest chiefly the administration of the rule, came back to the simple position put by Price, phrasing it thus, "If there be any pinch in anything, it is in requiring the Assembly to give a certificate to him that will not acknowledge the Church of England to be a true church." Burges reminded them that this was only a rule (that is, of course, not a decision on a question of principle), and asked what would happen if they were to discuss each rule at such length; and then, with mild irony, added, "I think it was not intended by Parliament that we should discuss whether there be a church in England or not"; after all, the Solemn League and Covenant, which they had all taken, named the Church of England. White introduced a new and telling point, saying that "'true' doth not signify 'perfect.'" Burroughes said that the reason why the debate was long was because different senses were applied to the word "church." No doubt that was true; but he himself went on to one of the refinements in definition; it should not be said that they deny the Church of England to be a true church; they grant it; "there are several parishes in England which, being associated together, may in some sense be called so." Nye tried another formula, "that the Church of England is a true integral part of the catholic church." The value of this phrase to the Independents was that the catholic church was not a *"totum* organically formed, but a *totum homogeneum";* it thus side-tracked the question of the concrete organised Church of England. The original question, in both its clauses, was finally approved; and a rider was added, *"If he answer negatively to any of these, he shall not be admitted, but dis-*

missed." This must refer to rules 5 to 8; it was practically implied by the form of rule 9.

"9. If he give an affirmative, then his testimonial be taken into consideration, whether valid or no."

Burges' fears of a long debate were not fulfilled; Lightfoot records that this and the following rules were passed without any debate. It is well to quote them, however, for they indicate the thoroughness and orderliness of the procedure, and also the type of pastoral work desired from the men. There was also (in rule 18) an evident desire to avoid placing a square man in a round hole, and we shall see that this caused discussion and care in individual cases.

"10. If anything be doubtful about the testimonial, then the committee to report upon it to the Assembly."

This frequently occurred.

"11. What authors he hath been versed in."

"12. Where he hath officiated, and why he leaves."

This was amplified on 19 February, 1644–5, to the effect that "no minister should pass the Assembly upon any former certificate" until he had satisfied the committee "of the reasons of his remove," and that had been reported to the Assembly.

"13. What skill he hath in the tongues and logic."

"14. Trial of his knowledge in the chief grounds in religion."

By a resolution of 29 August, 1645, this stage was not to be entered upon till his "orders and testimonials had first been published in the Assembly"; and on 11 February, 1646–7, the chairman was instructed not to proceed to the examination till he had received the name from the scribes.

"15. That he be put to preach if he have leisure."

"16. Trial to be taken how he can work upon consciences."

"17. To be asked what he thinks of catechising, and of the right way of visiting the sick."

"18. Enquiry after the nature of the place."

On 27 April, 1646, a nomination being made for Bath the Assembly resolved "that the Committee of Plundered Ministers be desired to have a special care about the said place, it being a place of great consequence."

"19. Upon his withdrawing, those that are present to give their censure of his answers."

"20. His certificate to be first published in the Assembly, and to be despatched without paying anything."

"21. That no chairman be made for this, but by the Assembly."

We shall see that these rules were faithfully carried out in individual cases, and proved their value.

On 2 May, 1644, before the actual sitting began, there was a suggestion that every minister examined should take the Covenant, and the chairman of the committee was asked to make provision for this. It was again resolved on 5 March, 1646–7, that a candidate should be asked whether he had taken the Covenant.

On 15 May, 1644, Ley asked that members should be appointed on a rota to attend the committee; so, on 4 June, as the result of Temple's desiring stricter procedure, a large committee of 37 members (probably almost all who were really assiduous in their attendance) was appointed. The quorum was five, and in place of sitting in the morning, they were to meet as soon as the Assembly rose; the question of getting a meal does not seem to have troubled their minds.

The testimonials produced were evidently of very uneven value, for on 28 October, 1644, the Assembly insisted that "they shall be signed by approved ministers' hands." The work of examination and reporting had to be done promptly, probably to satisfy the Committee of Plundered Ministers; so on 1 November, Ley was given permission to report "though in the midst of debates, when need required it." It was no doubt this need of promptitude which had caused the instruction for the committee to sit during the adjournment of the Assembly from 22 July to 7 August, 1644, though with the cautious addition, "but no certificate passed till the Assembly meets again."

In the absence of normal channels for ordination, difficulties arose, but this problem will best be discussed in the consideration of individual cases. Apparently some persons contrived to by-pass the Assembly, for on 15 February, 1643–4, they had to represent to the parliamentary committee that some persons in Kent should be recalled for that reason. The sermons proved a difficulty by their length, so that on 14 March, 1643–4, there was an order "that there be no sermon in this Assembly after nine of the clock." In February, 1646, Baillie records (ii, 349), "The providing ministers for all vacant churches, even to remote shires, their trial and mission, lies on the Assembly, and takes up almost every day too much of our time."

The work was evidently exacting: on 19 March 1646–7, a committee was appointed, with Seaman as chairman, "to consider a way of expediting" it. Seaman reported on the 24th, but the tenor of his report is not given, nor is any action upon it recorded.

Ministers were sometimes approved without personal attendance upon the committee. It was evidently difficult, once this was permitted, to draw a line. On 19 January, 1647–8, it was resolved "that the Assembly be fully satisfied upon very approved testimony" before personal attendance was excused. If the Assembly were not satisfied, the scribes were to write to some "known and approved" neighbouring ministers with enquiries.

The Assembly gave an independent judgment; and it was awkward if details should become known; so on 19 January, 1645–6, it was resolved that no member was to divulge "to the party complained of or any other" the name of a member who had raised objections. This was even more emphatically ordered on 18 December, 1646, and a party "stopped in the Assembly" was to apply to the scribe, who was to certify him of "the reason of his stop."

The case of a man formerly rejected caused discussion on 23 January, 1645–6; a resolution was rejected by 19 to 17 requiring a certificate from the Committee of Plundered Ministers in such cases that the man was discharged from his accusation, and that they were satisfied. Though they refused to make that a rule, they took that action in this case.

Chapter XVII

EXAMINATION OF MINISTERS: SPECIAL CASES

It would be a laborious, yet instructive task, to try and trace the many hundreds of men dealt with by the Divines between 21 December, 1643, and 25 March, 1652; to discover which of them were a credit, and which a discredit, to the judgment of the Assembly; to note which of them came out in 1662, and which remained in. Even without doing this, however, there is abundant evidence in the minutes up to February 1648–9, of the assiduous care with which the Assembly performed this task. After this time the lists contain many names, from four to ten at each weekly meeting, but there are only scanty details. (It is unfortunate that in their transcription of Fascicle III Mitchell and Struthers omitted any reference to over one hundred names which are therein recorded between 16 March, 1645–6 and 17 August, 1647.) The difficulties which emerged in the course of the work, and the Assembly's ways of meeting them, will become clear by the consideration of individual cases in this chapter.

About seventy men were told to obtain better testimonials, and about a dozen to give better reasons for removal from one place to another. The latter were satisfactory in all but three cases; the testimonials were not so successful. In eight cases definite rejection is reported, and in thirty-seven no further record occurs; doubtless in a large proportion of these the candidates knew the impossibility of obtaining satisfactory credentials, and did not attempt it. In some cases the request was simply for "a better testimonial," but there were many in which the requirement was more detailed, such as "from known ministers," "from better known and godly ministers," "from ministers among whom he has conversed." The candidate's "conversation" is often mentioned, sometimes with a named period,—"for the last two years," or "since his last approbation," or even "of his conversation from his neighbour ministers such as shall be approved of by the Assembly." Occasionally individuals were named, whose testimony was required: e.g., "Mr. Coates, and other known ministers about Nottingham"; and in a couple of cases the Assembly communicated direct with the ministers who had signed a testimonial.

Such cases were comparatively simple: there are another hundred cases where Lightfoot or the minutes give details, and these throw much

light upon the care taken by the Assembly, and are therefore worth recording fairly fully.

Doctrine was, of course, carefully investigated. Needham was reported (5 March, 1643–4) as "leaning to Antinomianism," and Pretty (23 November, 1643) "was suspected to be a notorious Antinomian." Emerson (1 October, 1644) was rejected for the same error; the Assembly's attention had previously been called to his views. An interesting case, with no name given, is recorded by Lightfoot (6 December, 1643); the minutes for that date are missing. Lightfoot desired that the candidate should "give his tenets in those points under his own hand," and Bridge supported him, as did also Salwey, the M.P. But the Assembly thought this "too much, and above our sphere," and appointed four men to examine him, specially who acquitted him. However, the man himself decided for a written statement, and submitted next day "a paper of his detestation of Antinomianism, which was read, and he was approved of." Samuel Oates of Norwich (14 December, 1643) was suspected of being "a notorious Anabaptist," but "Mr. Micklethwaite and Mr. Coleman cleared this man that he is not he, but another man." It was presumably Samuel Otes, the younger, minister of Northrepps.

The precise form of heterodoxy is not always recorded. Gataker described Moulines (13 February, 1643–4) as "very nice and dangerous in some parts of doctrine." Gobert's case, one of suspected Popery, will be told in full in another connection. Farrer was rejected (7 January, 1645–6) because he "was found very insufficient in the very grounds and fundamentals of religion." Ambrose Weatherhead (7 April, 1647) "seemed to hold bishops distinct from presbyters *jure divino*," but as he was approved two days later, he probably cleared up the point. He became rector of Weston (Oxon). Benjamin Cox (20 October, 1648) sent in "a paper of his acknowledgement of his errors" (which are not specified) and was examined. Robert Lancaster, on the other hand, though he produced a second testimonial (14 September, 1648) was not examined, because "his heterodox opinions were discovered before, and he does not now reclaim them." He was nevertheless inducted as rector of Quarley, Hants, in November, by order of the Lords.

Irregularity of life, of which details are very rarely given, held of course an important place; it was frequently in such cases that the applicant seems, as stated before, not to have succeeded in obtaining a clear testimonial. Cases in which the Assembly exercised special care are interesting. They informed the Commons committee (5 March, 1643–4) that Anthony was "a scandalous man." Herring, who came

out of Holland, was *"mali nominis,"* and two Independents, Simpson and Bridge, confirmed this (20 December, 1643). On 3 October, 1645, a Mr. Herring asked to come to the Assembly, "and bring with him those of the people whom he shall think fit," that they might be heard; but on the 9th it was resolved that a letter should be sent to his parish. Clarke was said (10 July, 1646) to be one of White's famous first century of scandalous ministers; a week later an attempt was made to reopen his case, but the Assembly reaffirmed its condemnation. Dollinder (24 October, 1645) did not appear, to answer a charge against him, and was held up "till he have cleared himself before the Assembly." There is no record of his doing so.

Jerome was rejected on 25 June, 1647; on 15 July, the committee reported that, while they were still of their former opinion, they "conceive it is reason to have time to enquire further." Accordingly the Assembly, recording that "there is an evil fame that doth follow him in all or most of those places where he hath lived," refused to alter their vote, but authorised the committee to report any further information that might come in; apparently none came, for there is no further minute about him. Miller was reported (16 January, 1645–6) for his "scandalous walking, and the insufficiency of his testimonials"; a further testimonial on 12 February was also unsatisfactory.

Two interesting cases in which the Assembly took great pains are those of Morris and Neale. Neale was asked (20 August, 1645) "to bring a hand of one or two ministers known to this Assembly of his conversation for these two last years." On the 28th a new testimonial was rejected by 11 to 7; on 1 September, yet another was submitted. A debate ensued, and it was resolved "that he is well approved of for his sufficiency and ministerial abilities, but for his conversation, it hath been such as hath formerly given offence; yet at present he professeth a resolution of reformation; but this we humbly leave to the wisdom of the Honourable Commissioners of the Great Seal." Morris had been respited on 28 August, and his case reported next day to the Committee of Plundered Ministers. Both cases were reported together on 11 September; both "did make confession of their offences past, sorrow therefor, and did promise amendment for the future. Mr. Neale did mingle his confessions with some tears, and did desire to be employed as a probationer for proof. They further add that for themselves they have not as yet received so full satisfaction in the premises as they do desire, but submit all to the grave and mature judgment of the reverend Assembly." The Divines ordered this answer to be given them: "Though

they have passed many trials, that they have not given that satisfaction that may amount unto the credence of a certificate." Nothing more is heard of Morris. On 21 November, another order came for Neale, and the Assembly replied that it "is not satisfied concerning his conversation, and they are informed the doctor hath been articled against for keeping him a drunken curate." On 1 February, 1646–7, Neale was told to bring a better testimonial of his former conversation, and was examined two days later; no further record occurs, and it is not certain that this was the same man.

Of Rutter it was reported (6 October, 1645) by Bond, a member of the Assembly, that he was a drunkard; Bond was told to pass the information on to the Commissioners of the Great Seal. (Walker notes a Henry Ruther of Llanfihangel-yorrol (Carmarthen) who was sequestered for the same reason.) Sir Henry Vane reported (12 August, 1646) "complaints from divers ministers in the country" about Wildbore, and the same Commissioners were told that he was not approved.

The objection was often political, not moral. On 19 May, 1647, the Assembly rejected Batchelor, "because they have received from the Committee of Kent his name as one who was a principal actor and abettor of the insurrection in Kent." This may have been John Bachelor, who had been lecturer at Lewisham (*Shaw* ii, 301); he had been dealt with by the Assembly (as elsewhere related) for licensing books, and was certainly not a *persona grata* in their eyes; but he became, apparently shortly after the execution of the king, one of the preachers at Windsor (*Shaw,* ii, 524). A certificate for Cloggey was withdrawn (15 September, 1646) because he had been a chaplain in the king's army, and had been taken prisoner; this would be Alexander Clogie, son-in-law and biographer of Bishop Bedell; he had suffered severely at the hands of the Irish rebels. In February 1647–8, he was inducted at Wigmore and Leinthall (Hereford), and is also mentioned as minister of "Beely" (? Bewdley) Worcester. (*Egmont MSS.,* I, i, 315). James Cresset was respited for a fortnight (23 May, 1648) because he had prayed for the success of Prince Maurice, and against the "rebels." He tried to outwit the Divines by getting an order from the Lords, but the Assembly reported the facts to that House on 8 June. Nevertheless on 5 June he obtained an order for his induction to Cound (Salop), although Samuel Smith, previously of Aistrop (Lincs) was already there. Apparently he did not get possession till 1660 (*Cal. Rev*). Of John Orton it was recorded (29 March, 1647) simply that he was "a great malignant," and that the Assembly "was not satisfied."

Naturally, to have been sequestered from a living was a serious, though not insuperable, hindrance. Whitting's case was referred to the Committee of Plundered Ministers (23 January, 1645–6) for them to say whether they were satisfied; and the Assembly decided to use this same procedure in future cases. A year later a William Whitting was examined and approved (6 January, 1646–7), and he was again approved upon his former examination (3 January, 1648–9). Chase was respited (22 March, 1646–7) as having been sequestered, but also for a better testimonial; one was submitted next day, but on the 29th, after debate, the Divines rejected him. The Assembly had an order of Parliament (19 July, 1647) "that no sequestered man should be admitted again without the order of both Houses." This does not appear about that date in the journals of either House, and may have been from the Committee of Plundered Ministers. Harwood, who had been referred to a committee (25 November, 1647) turns up again on 25 February, 1647–8, and was finally rejected on 21 March, because he had been sequestered; this might be Anthony Harwood of Barnelby (Lincs). Richard Hunt was refused on 19 July, 1647, because of the parliamentary order. Henry Pybus had a curious experience; examined and approved on 29 October, 1647, his certificate was held up; on 3 November, he was respited, "it being certified that he had been ejected," but on the 10th he was approved, and on the 11th the Lords sanctioned his induction as rector of Hasting Leigh (Kent).

Some cases of removal required special care. Humphrey Ellis was to be removed to Winchester. On 3 February, 1645–6, the Assembly "cannot give advice" for his removal: the Committee for Hampshire was evidently pressing, and on 11 February, the Assembly said that it could come to no conclusion until it had interviewed Ellis, and he had brought "sufficient testimonials from known and approved ministers where he last resided and now is, and have satisfied the Assembly in the reasons of his removal from a pastoral charge to a sequestration." They appointed 5 March for interviewing him. However, on 20 February, they decided to reopen the case, as he was present. Six members were sent out to interview him, a favourable report was given, and he was provisionally approved, provided no further information came to hand before 5 March. He went to Winchester at a stipend of £200 per ann., and was still there in 1650. A special committee was appointed (2 February, 1647–8) to consider Robert Henson's removal from North Lynn to West Lynn; on its report next day, he was approved. Nottingham parishioners petitioned for Whitaker as their minister, and the

question was referred by the Commons to the Assembly, which resolved (28 October, 1644) that he should not move. Thomas Horrocks, curate of Roxwell, obtained approval (6 January, 1645–6) "without giving any reasons for his removal, because he was never settled in that place for which he was formerly examined,—the place being otherwise disposed of." This was for Stapleford Tawney (Essex) where in August 1647, the sequestered parson tried to oust him, and Horrocks had to appeal to the House of Lords. He had another removal, being approved as vicar of Maldon, 26 June, 1648.

The question of orders occasionally called for investigation. Long was rejected (20 October, 1643) because he was not in orders, and Ward (30 April, 1647) because he was "not a presbyter." Exception was taken to Sprigge, on the other hand, because he had gone for ordination to the Bishop of Lincoln. Ley was told to see "whether he can give satisfaction to the Assembly in this business"; so they were evidently prepared to hear reason. There is no record, but it seems probable that he did give satisfaction, for on 23 November, 1648, a man named Sprigge was "approved upon his former examination." The question of orders was not the only point in the case of Featherstone, which led to some discussion (15 January, 1646–7). It was moved and agreed that he pass without coming up; but the question was put again. (This suggests that there had been a considerable arrival of late members.) The decision was then reversed; the Assembly resolved "that none shall pass the Assembly without coming up, except a testimonial be brought," and Featherstone was instructed to bring a certificate "from the next classis, or from the ministers of York" as to his ordination and fitness. On 19 January, he was approved without coming up, but on 17 February, complaints were brought, and were reported to the Committee of Plundered Ministers. On the following day it was resolved that he should be heard before the report was transmitted. He evidently cleared himself, for on 1 March it was decided that his approval "be not recalled."

Ordination came up in a different connection in the case of Coleman, "preacher in the Tower," who was refused (9 January, 1643–4) by a large majority, because he had taken part in ordaining Mr. Belcher. This was presumably William Belcher, later of St. Dionis, Backchurch, and was probably with a view to his obtaining the living of Ulcomb (Kent). The case of Coleman was reconsidered next day, but the decision was adhered to.

An interesting and difficult case, of a slightly different kind, was that of Anderson, of Monk Mungham (Herts). On 7 November, 1643, Ley reported that his certificate of ordination was "interlined." Seaman raised the question of the character of his ordination, and Staunton said that he had seen the certificate a few days earlier, and that he was informed that there was "some company of ministers in the City that took upon themselves to give orders"; he also reported that Anderson had said that "upon accepting of the living he would assign," probably meaning that he would get an ordained curate to take charge. It turned out next day that he had been ordained by John Goodwin, with prayer and imposition of hands. He confessed that he had been told to keep silent about it, and Ley reported that he had found him unwilling to explain. Lightfoot, however, under date 9 November, says that Holmes and Goodwin sent a paper, "whereby they disclaimed their ordaining of Mr. Anderson." That it was a "disclaimer," not a "denial" may have no significance. The prolocutor, on the 8th, called the proceeding "a high presumption, and fit to be remonstrated to the Houses." It was certainly exasperating to have a certificate from John Goodwin, the free lance, who "doth openly preach against the Assembly." Anderson had impressive testimonials, "a double row of names, one for his orders, another for his conversation." A long discussion followed, from which it is evident that the Assembly feared that Anderson would administer the sacraments only to selected parishoners, really forming a "gathered congregation." The actual result as regards approval is not recorded, but it is most unlikely that he secured it.

Certificates were not merely tampered with, but even forged: the case of Cresswell was reported (22 July, 1647) to the Commissioners for the Great Seal. The Assembly reported to the Lords (8 June, 1648) that Maurice had attempted to get their Lordships' order, though the Assembly considered him insufficient, but his method is not indicated. Tuppe was told (15 October, 1646) to bring a better testimonial. Next day, on account of information against him, it was resolved after debate to report to the Committee for Worcestershire that he was not fit for any charge. On 1 January, 1646–7, the Assembly refused to let him have a copy of his testimonials; no reason is given, but one wonders whether they doubted their genuiness.

The question of preference for one of two candidates was of occasional occurrence. On 20 October, 1643, when John Yardley was nominated for Sheering (Essex), the Assembly asked the Committee of Plundered Ministers to consider also Green, one of its own members;

Yardley, however, was appointed. Augur and Dugood were both recommended (1 April, 1644) for the Mastership of Merchant Taylors' School; it was resolved that "the examination and answers this day made argued them both sufficient for that or any other school." The Assembly then decided that "Mr. Augur is not the fittest for learning to be commended before Mr. Dugood," and clenched the matter by voting "affirmatively" for the latter. Lightfoot records that "the whole day, in a manner, was taken up with this question." When Coleman was rejected (9 January, 1643–4) Lightfoot was recommended for the living of Great Munden (Herts) which he obtained. Moulines was recommended for St. Swithin's (13 Feb. 1643–4); some of the parishioners wanted him, and some wanted Cawdry. There was a marked difference of opinion in the Assembly about him, Gataker describing him as "very nice and dangerous in some points of doctrine." After over an hour's discussion, Lightfoot drily remarked "here are divers noble gentlemen come in to hear other discourse than this," and the matter was adjourned. At the end of business next day there was again a long discussion, and finally Sir Robert Harley was asked to raise the matter in the Committee of Plundered Ministers.

The fairness of the Assembly is shewn in the case of Worley (3 March, 1646–7), who was given "a week's time to bring in a testimonial of his conversation." This was evidently because both Carre and he were nominated for "Chigwall." (This was an error for Chignal; Chigwell was at that time in the hands of Peter Watkinson.) Fenwick, the vicar of Chignal St. James, was in trouble with the Essex Committee, and though he was never actually sequestered, it looks as though these two persons wished to step into his shoes. Carre may probably have been Gamaliel Carre, junior, who moved some eight months later from Markshall to Aldham; Worley is probably the man named in the Essex Classis as minister of Rawreth. Instead of one week, Worley was allowed three before, on 23 March, the Assembly decided that if he did not come to be examined within three days, Mr. Carre should have the approval. There is no further record; one wonders whether Worley had come to learn that there was not likely to be a vacancy after all. The case of Vigors is somewhat similar; he was respited on 17 December, 1647; one Rogers was found fit on the 20th, "but because Mr. Vigors was ordered to be examined for the same place, it was respited till to-morrow to see whether Mr. Vigors will appear and apply himself to the satisfaction of the Assembly." There is no record of his appearing.

One finds reversal of decisions upon just cause shewn. Benjamin Agas was objected against by Staunton (20 December, 1644), but Gouge reported on 9 January, 1644–5, that "the committee thought him fit," and he was recommended on the 14th for a place in the north. On 30 November, 1648, he was approved for the rectory of Chenies (Bucks). The case of Featherstone, already related, is another example of this occurrence (15 January, 1646–7).

To have consulted the parishioners would seem to be a useful procedure; but when every nominee had to be examined by one small committee, it would have been impossible to make this a general rule. Actual instructions to consult were given (23 March, 1646–7) in the case of Dick, objected to by the parishioners of Croydon. In the case of Dix, nominated for Tiverton (4 March, 1646–7) the parishioners of St. Bride's wished to keep him there, and a special committee was instructed to consult with them. The case of Samuel Hall is one of the most interesting. It first occurs in the minutes on 11 February, 1646–7, when the parishioners of Thaxted (Essex) were allowed a fortnight to produce their exceptions against him. After deferring his case, and receiving on 22nd March an unsatisfactory testimonial, the Assembly decided (24 March) not to examine him, but to report to Parliament that he was not fit for Thaxted; they did not express any opinion "as to his fitness or unfitness for any other place." On 13 April, 1647, an order was brought from the Committee of Plundered Ministers concerning him; the Divines appointed a strong committee of their own; next day its report was adopted, and though the tenor is not given, must manifestly have been unfavourable. Hall seems then to have tried another path, for on 18 May the Lords instructed the Assembly to examine him. This rather high-handed procedure manifestly hurt the dignity of the Assembly. Their committee was reappointed, and its report agreed to, and sent to the Lords: "It hath ever been our course, in the examination of ministers, to consider first of their lives, and to be fully satisfied touching their conversation." This was specially needful now, when "many who have taken part with the enemy, or have been cast out for their scandalous and ungodly conversation, do endeavour to get into livings . . . to whom should the Assembly give any approbation, we should not only bring a great guilt upon our own souls, and an irreparable mischief upon the church, but much dishonour upon your Lordships, by whom we are entrusted." Hall, they said, had "occasioned more trouble to us, and more hindered the public service of this Assembly than any minister that ever was referred to us." He had got

so many orders from the Committee of Plundered Ministers that "many days already have been spent" over his case. They were still "altogether unsatisfied about his testimonials"; they learned of "sundry miscarriages in his preaching and otherwise"; he had been imprisoned less than two years ago for a sermon at Cambridge. Not only did they refuse to recommend him, but they asked "that he may not be permitted further to interrupt the public work of this Assembly." They were at this time very busy completing the Scripture Proofs for the Confession and compiling the Larger Catechism.

The Lords sent a copy of this to Hall, and told him to reply to it; they also sent a message to the Assembly to make good their case on 4 June. Four Divines were appointed to do so, and when they went to the Lords a committee of peers was appointed to hear them. They went again to the Lords in the middle of June, and four more members were added. That is the last we hear of Hall in the Assembly minutes. The subsequent history is interesting, and may be briefly told. During the time when the speakers of both Houses and many members had left, the tiny remnant of the Lords ordered Dr. Aylett to induct Hall at Thaxted. Then the proceedings of this period were cancelled, after the speakers and members returned. On 22 August, the parishioners tried to forbid Hall from preaching, but he said that the order for cancellation "did no ways concern him," and preached morning and afternoon. The Lords sent for Hall on 27 August. After a couple of postponements the case was heard on 24 September, and the order for his induction was declared void, and an order given that he was not to officiate at Thaxted any more. Three days later his opponents were released, but it was not till 1 October that Hall was set free, on promising "not to interrupt the sequestrators in the exercise of their authority in the church of Thaxted." His successor, James Parkins, was put in by Parliament in November, having been approved "upon his former examination" by the Assembly on the 15th. The story of the whole case was told in a pamphlet *A Great Fight in the Church at Thaxted.*

The patron of a living is occasionally mentioned. The Assembly reported to a Mr. Jennings that it was not satisfied with his presentee, Carpenter (2 February, 1646–7). George Dorwood was nominated for Painswick (Glos.), a living with several patrons (16 May, 1648); some of these put in a caveat against him, and the Assembly postponed examination till they were agreed. However, he was examined on 22 June, but respited on the 26th until he should "bring a presentation," apparently as documentary evidence of the patrons' unanimity. Three

days later he was approved. Thorpe, first respited and then examined, was again respited (10 June, 1646) because the living was now void by death, and the Earl of Westmoreland had made a presentation. He had of course been nominated for a vacancy by sequestration.

While the Assembly's dealings were as a rule with the Committee of Plundered Ministers, they came into relation with other bodies also. Some of the cases have been already mentioned, but a list may be useful. The House of Lords, 6 June, 1646, 3 and 14 June, 1647; the Commissioners of the Great Seal, 2 September, 1645, 4 September, 1646, 22 July and 8 October, 1647; the Committee for Worcestershire, 15 September, 16 October, and 11 November, and 31 December, 1646, and 7 April, 1647; the Committee for Hampshire, 11 February, 1645–6; the Committee for the West, 2 September, 1646. On 6 June, 1644, they wrote to the Deputy Lieutenant of the county about Mr. Heath for "Sinnicke" (presumably Sevenoaks).

The question of taking the Solemn League and Covenant was dealt with in discussing the general regulations; it is named in several cases. Robert Cougham was told (2 March, 1646–7) to bring a certificate that he had taken it; he probably took it some time later, for it was not till 1 June that he received an order for Blofield (Norfolk) to succeed Ambrose Cougham, no doubt a relative. Ambrose Weatherhead (7 April, 1647) had also to bring such evidence. Dobson refused to take the Covenant (15 August, 1648), yet next day the Lords ordered his induction to the vicarage of West Sherborne (Hants), a small straw indicating which way the wind was then blowing. Gore was respited (3 May, 1647) "till satisfaction about his taking the Covenant," and was approved later on.

There are a number of cases more complicated in their nature, and not coming easily under any general head, but interesting and instructive in detail. A chronological arrangement is adopted.

6 November, 1643. Dodwell is described as "a poor minister of Ireland." Hoyle gave him a testimonial.

8 November, 1643. Pilcher's name was "given to enquire to Mr. de la March, and testified under the hands of both in case it be not done by them." This minute is manifestly deficient, and the later record does not clear it up. Mr. de la March said, "As the French church, so the Dutch church do not admit of any such order." But next day (without Mr. Pilcher's name being given) "certificate from the Dutch church and from Mr. Holmes and Mr. Goodwin." From Lightfoot it is evident that the latter two names refer to Anderson's case; but

presumably the first reference is to Mr. Pilcher. What the character of his ordination may have been is not evident; it looks as though it were of foreign origin.

13 December, 1643. Lightfoot tells us, without any name, that a sermon on Philippians i: 18 ("What then? Notwithstanding every way, whether in pretence or in truth, Christ is preached, and I therein do rejoice") produced "divers just objections." No doubt it was a ticklish text to preach on in those days, and one has some sympathy with the man to whom it had been prescribed; the divines withdrew the approval formerly given to the preacher, whoever he was.

27 January, 1643–4. Mr. Hamilton was recommended by the Scots Commissioners to be chaplain to a regiment raised in Kent. The Assembly took no action, leaving Mr. Ley to discuss it with the Scots.

18 November, 1644. Ralph Robinson, chosen for St. Mary Woolnoth, claimed that his deacon's orders were adequate, "and in case it be not, he hopes that within a year there will be another more settled way of ordination, and then he may be ordained." This led to the resolution that deacons must be ordained presbyters before obtaining a pastoral charge, which was reported to the Lords next day. He became one of the London Triers in 1647, and was Assessor in the Provincial Assembly of London.

28 March, 1645. Corbet and Young were told to "make known the information against Mr. Bridges to the committee of our members," "Mr. Wilkinson to be spoken with about Mr. Bridges." Corbet and Wilkinson were both Oxford dons. No further reference appears till 17 October, when the chairman of the examination committee was asked to report on "the charge against Mr. Bridges in their committee." On the 20th, Temple reported that the committee was not satisfied, and that their clerk would submit "a note of what was done." This was read on the 22nd, and the case respited for two days, when Bridges "relinquished his claim to the place of Croydon," and this was reported to the Committee of Plundered Ministers.

12 May, 1645. Dod refused to accept the certificate voted to him by the Assembly; no reason is stated, and he was apparently willing to accept it on 16 January, 1646–7.

7 August, 1645. Kirby was to have a certificate "that the Assembly doth not approve of pluralities, yet, in case they be united by authority, he may be admitted."

7 August, 1645. Mitchell did not come for examination as ordered; the Assembly asked the Committee of Plundered Ministers to see "that

he may not gather in the profits of the year." On 2 February, 1645–6, they reported his "great insufficiency for the place mentioned, or any other ministerial charge."

9 March, 1645–6. Four members dissented against the approbation of Wood. A few days' respite was agreed upon, and on the 18th there was a further respite, "till the brethren that spake concerning him come into the Assembly." Next day, the Committee of Plundered Ministers was told that the Assembly had withdrawn his certificate. On the 27th a paper of information against him was forwarded to that Committee, with the comment that "this Assembly did never either send unto him or receive from him any letter or advice." It is improbable that any later references to men of the same name apply to him.

11 November, 1646. Richards, recommended by the Committee for Worcester, was, after a respite, reported to them as "unfit for a ministerial charge." His case came up again on 14 July, 1647, and the scribes were told to find what had been done before; on the 16th his examination was sanctioned, but there is no record of the result.

19 February, 1646–7. Burney had been respited on the 1st, and again on the 10th, and a better testimonial required. On the 19th, examination was refused, and on 17 March he was declared unfit. This was specially reported on 7 April, 1647, to the Committee of Plundered Ministers, the rider being added a week later that he was not fit for any "ministerial appointment." On 27 May, he produced an order for "the certificate of his examination to be returned." It was dated 25th March, and Byfield was instructed to tell him "that the Assembly doth take it ill that he should thus abuse them with an order of so old a date, after a return hath been made from the Assembly concerning him." Some further debate took place on 17 June, and there is this obscure minute, "That Mr. Wilson be written to about Mr. Burney, to make a return against to-morrow sevennight." No further notice occurs.

3 June, 1647. Laite was to be examined this day, but next day he was given his order back, "because not directed to the Assembly." Was this mere meticulousness about a formality, or did the Divines doubt the genuineness of it because of its irregularity?

13 July, 1647. Tulley was "admitted to a special examination to-morrow morning"; he was then ordered to preach at St. Paul's six days later, upon John iii: 36, and "the members of the Assembly that reside thereabouts are desired to hear him." Can this have been due to a doubt about the sufficiency of his voice? He was approved upon the

day when he preached (20 July), upon a good report from the members who had heard him.

25 February, 1647–8. There was a debate about Paine; an order had just been received, but they "cannot examine this business without further time." On 11 April, an order came again; a suggestion that he be examined, and "the whole business" considered thereafter, was negatived. Two days later the Assembly reported that it was "not satisfied," but on 1 September his examination was sanctioned. The result is not recorded.

27 July, 1648. Cooke, examined this day, did not satisfy the Assembly. On the 31st a paper from him was read, but did not give any further satisfaction. On 2 August, permission was given for him to be examined before he returned home, if he wished. On the 7th, it was resolved not to approve him, but to allow him still further examination. A man named Cooke was approved on 13 October.

28 December, 1648. A man named Wallis was respited. This was probably William Wallace, going to East Dean (Sussex). There is no further minute about him. He had a strong Aberdeen accent (Cal. Rev.).

These details, if rather uninteresting in themselves at times, make manifest the determination of the Assembly, while accepting no man of whose fitness they had any doubt, to give fair play and every opportunity for a man to state and prove his suitability for the work of the ministry.

Chapter XVIII

PERSONAL MATTERS

This chapter naturally includes a considerable variety of affairs. It will be well to begin with matters affecting members of Assembly, and among them with four cases which needed careful action.

The first was a serious one, leading to the temporary suspension of Cornelius Burges by the Commons. A careful study of the various records brings all three parties out of it with credit, though Lightfoot, with his customary strong characterisations, calls Burges "the turbulent doctor." Burges, like a number of others, felt difficulty as to the first article of the Solemn League and Covenant, as being inadequately precise in its phraseology. And when the second article was considered, he had a similar feeling about it, in which he received support from other members. One difficult phrase was "to extirpate popery"; Burges declared that it was "a very nice business to know what popery is, and what is meant by extirpation." Here his objection seems hypercritical, and after debate it was rejected by the Assembly.

When it came to "prelacy," Burges once more demanded a definition; the Assembly saw the need of this, and duly inserted an explanatory clause. Burges continued to watch the wording of the Covenant with a very critical eye, an attitude justified by the great importance of the document. And when it was finally agreed on, he took advantage of the rule imposed by Parliament for that very purpose, and entered a dissent. He said that he could not in conscience agree, but that he regretted this; and he asked liberty to give his reasons. He also requested that the report to Parliament should be deferred till he gave in his reasons, and pressed this. That step was of doubtful wisdom, though manifestly within his rights, for the rule said that the reasons as well as the dissent were to be submitted to Parliament. Lightfoot comments that "the great affairs of two dying kingdoms" could not wait. The Divines lost no time, but at once reported to the Commons (31 August), and were thanked. A petition from Burges (in which he was joined by Price) was also presented; and it must have been rather trying for them that the Commons ordered "that the petitioners do proceed at the Assembly according to the rules of both Houses for the Assembly to proceed by," which was precisely the course that Burges had taken. The Commons also instructed the Assembly to submit its answer. Next

day the Assembly spent "an hour or two debating; at last a committee was chosen to draw up an answer." Lightfoot describes Burges' petition as "exceedingly derogatory to the Assembly," charging it with "precipitancy and violation of the Parliament rules." Unfortunately we have not the wording of the petition, but these charges were, of course, precisely the points at issue.

The committee reported the answer in the afternoon of 1 September; and the petitioners, while saying that their action had been a matter of conscience, offered to withdraw the petition. But feeling had risen high, hard words had been spoken, and the Assembly unfortunately did not accept this eirenicon. On 2 September, the petition and the answer were presented to the House of Commons, which expressed itself satisfid with the answer. Price, saying that he had rashly trusted Burges' judgment, retracted his support of the petition, and was acquitted. Burges expressed sorrow that he still felt the force of his reasons, which were conscientious, and protested his faithfulness to the cause of religious reform in conjunction with Scotland. He also said that he was sorry "that any petition of his should retard any business of importance, either there or in the Assembly; and that if anything in the manner of his proceeding has given any distaste, he is sorry for it." Having thus restated his conscientious opinion, and apologised for any discourtesy in method, he went even further; he "desired that if his petition has given any disturbance (which he knows it has) he may have liberty to withdraw and retract his petition." Surely an honourable offer: My petition expresses my conscientious opinion, but I do not want it to retard business. But the Commons were not satisfied, and suspended Burges from his membership "until he has given satisfaction to this House and to the Assembly."

On 8 September, Gouge, always a kindly and peaceable soul, reported that Burges was "sorry for the unadvisedness of his proceedings in his late petition, although no way guilty of any design against the kingdom, or our brethren of Scotland," or any intention "to asperse the Assembly." The matter then dropped, but later in the sitting Burges expressed willingness to apologise, "though it were upon his knees," and said that the suspension did not move him so much as the fact that the Commons should think that he had "aspersed" the Assembly. He acknowledged "bitterness of spirit," asked them to consider the "suddenness of it," and concluded by saying, "I find that it is aspersed, but without intention by me, and I am sorry for it." This satisfied the wounded dignity of the Assembly; Seaman said, "As we have put no

bar to his coming, we shall be very glad to see him in his place again." They went without delay to the Commons, reported that they were "fully satisfied," and recommended him to the Honourable House "to be received again into their good opinion." But the Commons stood to the letter of their resolution; it was true that he had satisfied the Assembly, but he must satisfy the House also.

On 11 September, Hodges made a "motion concerning the assessor absent," and on 13th, Palmer moved for the restoring of Burges; this caused debate in the course of which Temple remarked "his crime is not his dissenting; in that every man is free; but his petitioning." Probably this was thought to be a violation of the provision that a dissent should not be sent to Parliament "by any particular man or men," though it is difficult to see what else could have been done by Burges when they refused to wait for his reasons. Again a small committee was appointed, whose recommendation was that they should petition the Commons. Lightfoot somewhat ungraciously, yet probably very wisely, opposed this; for it would not have fulfilled the Commons' resolution. One may conjecture that the committee (three very wise and brotherly men, Palmer, Vines, and Temple) conferred with Burges about the deadlock; in any case on the 15th he himself petitioned the Commons again; being called in, he said that he still had difficulties, but he learned that some particulars in the Covenant were being altered, which would satisfy him; and that he would sincerely give the House such satisfaction as they might desire, "not so much out of any ambitious design, as to be able to do them service." The House restored his membership in the Assembly, and he went straight off there, told them that he was satisfied with the Covenant as now revised, and that the House was satisfied with him.

So ended this awkward episode, which, it is good to realise, did not injure Burges' subsequent usefulness, nor the high esteem in which he was held both by Parliament and by Assembly.

The second case was concerned with Sterry. On 9 October, 1643, when the Assembly was debating Article XIII, "Of Works before Justification," Sterry came under suspicion of Antinomian leanings. He claimed that he had expressed his "peremptory judgment," but submitted something to be accepted "so far as they thought fit." Seaman did not wish to judge hastily; he wanted Sterry to "bring in" (apparently in writing) his animadversions, "that we might neither do him nor ourselves an injury," and Sterry asked that he might not be called to account for everything that he propounded for consideration. His

attendance was interrupted, but on 11 October, Burges moved that when he was again able to attend, he should have an opportunity of explaining his position.

The third case, that of Vines, gave both him and the Assembly much anxiety. On 16 April, 1644, a petition from the Mayor and inhabitants of Coventry urged that Vines "may not be disposed any other way, but may be restored to them again when times settle, for he was at St. Michael's." A small commitee was appointed; no record of a report occurs, but a letter from Coventry came on 3 June, and the committee was told to consider it, and to report upon "the whole case." On 27 June, they reported that they had not known what to do in Vines' absence. On that day a letter came from the Earl of Manchaster, desiring Vines as Master of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Vines said, "I desire it may be proceeded to a final conclusion," apparently wishing the Assembly to take the responsibility of deciding. Marshall suggested that Vines might have a private conference with some members chosen by himself, "to see if they can satisfy his conscience." On 4 July, Vines was still undecided, and next day Gouge gave in a report which was referred to the committee. On the 8th, says Lightfoot, "the greatest part of the day was taken up about Mr. Vines." A report of answers to Vines' reasons for hesitating was submitted by Gouge. Coventry, it pointed out, could be more easily served by someone else than could Cambridge; yet Vines considered himself engaged to Coventry, so that there must be consultation with them; he must recognise that he would be able to exercise ministry in Cambridge; and he ought to be content to yield his private judgment to that of his brethren. He had said that "his spirit is a temptation" (it is not said in which direction, but from the next words it must have been Coventryward); the committee, with a stern "therefore," said, "he ought to strive against it." Marshall dealing with Vines' promise, could not consider it absolute; "in case it appear that there is a greater service to be done in another place, both he and his people ought to consent." He added, "it shall not be a removing from a ministry to a government; Cambridge and the places thereabout do need so much preaching that there will be an ample field for him to work in." He therefore suggested (evidently as a finding) "that they have weighed what he have given in, that the Lord Manchester had dealt prudently in choosing him, and that they think fit he should accept it." Hodges, who had had private conference with Vines, said, "there is a great deal of scruple with him" about two things, first, Coventry's consent; and second, that if he could not exercise his

ministry "his gifts will rust." Palmer doubted whether, in these circumstances, he was fit to be Master of a College. Woodcock was not satisfied that Cambridge was of greater importance than Coventry. Gibson took a strong line: Was Vines a fit judge in his own case? Was he his own master or "under authority of church and state?" Palmer urged them to come to a conclusion; it was now three months since he had been nominated; all parties, Manchester, Vines, and Coventry, had referred the question to the Assembly, and the Assembly was a fit body to give an opinion. Vines' reasons had been considered; the claims of Coventry must be considered. Palmer evidently did not consider there were any; "Coventry has no more claim to him than to me; he is minister of another place." Marshall again intervened; there was a great probability that even if Vines did not go to Cambridge, he would not return to Coventry; and, "for that of his own spirit, it was a hard case for any member of the Assembly, if he were designated to a place by the Assembly, and all that can be said against it is that he has prayed to God, and his spirit does not frame to it." A high doctrine of the authority of the call of the Church! Calamy said that no man was more willing than he that Vines should go to Pembroke, but he could not hold Marshall's view. "The call of God consists in two things, as well in making a man willing as in gifting him for the place; I cannot say that I am called of God till He do somewhat incline my heart." Marshall then asked whether, if he had been actually at Coventry, he might not have been taken from there to Cambridge; and Herle said tersely, "Coventry cannot hinder his call"; if he could do more good elsewhere, he should go. But he sympathised with the scruple about the work of the ministry, which requires residence; he suggested that Vines might get a benefice within six miles of Cambridge. Nothing was done.

On 14 August, the Earl of Manchester pressed for a decision. Vines made a somewhat confused statement; he meant to have written to the Earl, but did not; he had seen the report of the committee and of the Assembly; "I should have desired that I might have had at least a vote in my own disposing"—a different attitude from the opening one of wanting the Assembly to proceed to "a final conclusion." He went on, "My spirit doth in no ways frame to the employment, but I am not refractory to importunity." He asked that "afterwards" he might be "at liberty and free." Palmer felt the uncertainty of Vines' statement, "I desire," said he, "that we may be clear in this answer; if it be his meaning actually and formally to yield himself to their service, then it will be considered what he desires," and "if it shall appear that God

doth discharge him from that place, no man can contradict it." Then came the crux,—"Who is to be the judge of this? If his intention be to reserve to himself an absolute judgment of it in his own mind, we can but conclude what, in our own consciences, we think to be his duty." Poor Vines protested, quite rightly, against a man's inclinations being stigmatised as "temptations" (forgetting that it was he himself who had used the word), and made another not very effective attempt to define his position: "I do not say that I will not take the counsel of my brethren, but I desire such a liberty that I alter myself." Nye said that it was a grave thing for the Assembly to dispose of a man against his own consent and inclination; he doubted whether any church or company of brethren could do such a thing. Palmer at once denied that the Assembly was exercising authority; it was reasoning with Vines. Burges criticised Vines for having so long neglected to write to the Earl of Manchester; he pressed him to accept the Cambridge post. The consideration of the matter was interrupted by the arrival of Maitland and Warriston; when it was resumed Marshall stated that the two houses of the Temple unanimously wanted Vines there, and were "preparing an ordinance to settle him." With such an ordinance the Assembly could not meddle, but he did not think that Parliament would compel Vines, a statement which Rous confirmed. Vines said that he had never thought of this, nor moved in it; indeed he had given reasons against it, to which they had replied that they would procure the ordinance. He still desired to be employed in the ministry.

Seaman then said, "this business is of extraordinary consequence in many ways," but the minutes do not specify in what ways. Palmer said there was "much desire of his coming down," evidently to Cambridge, and that he was greatly troubled by this latest news. Marshall hoped that no ordinance would pass "before Mr. Vines be satisfied in his own conscience to accept it." Vines now took a more decided position; "with this caution, that I would be at liberty any time after, I should accept it." Temple made the rather puzzling remark, "Mr. Vines refusing will foil the business, but I question whether his accepting of it will not foil the business."

This is the last reference in the minutes; evidently Vines' reservation of his future freedom was allowed. Indeed, what else could they have done? After this long hesitation, creditable to his conscience, but discreditable to his will power, and possibly even to his common sense, Vines went to be Master of Pembroke College.

Coleman was the fourth case. His strong Erastianism caused difficulty on more than one occasion. At the fast on 30 July, 1645, he preached a sermon in which he spoke against a vote of the Assembly. He counselled Parliament to establish as few things by divine right as can be; and declared that a Christian magistrate, as such, was a governor in the church. The Divines asked on 1 August, that the Commons should order him to produce his notes to the Assembly. They gave him an opportunity of speaking; he said that the reports contained much that was wrong, and that he was sorry to have given offence. He also promised not to print the sermon, but it was printed, and became the starting point of a pamphlet controversy between Gillespie and himself.

Again, on 12 February, 1645–6, he was reported to have said "that the Covenant was made use of to beat all with," or words to that effect. It was in course of a protest against putting into a petition to Parliament the words "according to our Solemn Covenant"; and Newcomen stoutly declared that Coleman had "added obstinacy to deny his folly." By a vote of 26 to 1 the next day the Assembly declared that the statement was scandalous, and by 9 to 1 (the others presumably refraining from voting) they added the words "both to the Parliament and Assembly."

On 9 March, 1645–6, Coleman wished to dispute the famous first section of Chapter XXX of the Confession of Faith, that church government was "distinct from the civil magistrate"; but he very cautiously asked first whether, if he did so, he might do it without breach of covenant, and charge of perjury. The Assembly was equally cautious in return; after debate it would pass no resolution, "it being free to any member to speak his conscience in the Assembly." So Coleman said that the New Testament held no distinction between ecclesiastical and civil government. He would be unable to be there the next day, so the Divines adjourned the debate; Coleman "argued some days against the proposition" (*Reid,* i, 247), namely, on 13, 16, and 17 March. On that day, "after a full debate," the Assembly resolved that his argument about Matthew xviii had "been answered." On the 18th, Coleman was not present, and on the 19th, the Assembly was informed that he was not well, and appointed two members to visit him. Next day one of them reported that he was "very ill" (Baillie calls it (ii, 364) "an ague"), but that he hoped they would leave the debate open till his return. His illness, however, proved fatal, and on the afternoon of 30 March the Divines attended his funeral.

On 24 February, 1644–5 the Lord Mayor complained of a letter "from a grave divine of the Assembly concerning the Uxbridge treaty." He thought that it contained seditious passages, but before taking steps to find out the author, he deemed it right to acquaint the Assembly. The Assembly disclaimed the letter and thanked the Lord Mayor "for his great respect shewed unto the Assembly."

On 16 June, 1645, Price thanked the Assembly, but it does not appear for what. On 27 November, 1646, Byfield, the scribe, reported "a great aspersion cast upon the Assembly by Mr. Price." After debate, Byfield's action was approved, but there is no record of what was done to Price.

The health of the Assembly was on the whole good, as far as the records go. Absence from illness of any duration became a ground for visiting the invalid. The incidence of sickness was seasonal, along lines to be expected; there were 11 cases reported in the first quarter of the year, 10 in the second, and 6 in each of the last two.

The prolocutor, Twisse, who was 67 when the Assembly met, was absent for some time soon thereafter. On Thursday, 8 February, 1643–4, Lightfoot and Staunton were appointed to visit him; they reported next day that he thanked the Assembly, and hoped to be present on Monday. He was again visited on 14 October, 1644. Wincop, who visited him on 31 March, 1645, reported on the following day that he was "very sick and in great straits" (having lost all he had by the plundering of the Royalists). He was twice again visited during 1645, and seven times in the first half of 1646. He died, after a year of lingering illness on 19 July, 1646, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. On 23 December, 1647, the question of "subsistence for Dr. Twisse's children" came up in the Commons; a report was ordered for two days later, but nothing more appears in the Journals. A petition from them was read on 4 August, 1648; the Commons ordered that the sum of £1000 "formerly bestowed" on them should be paid, and that until it was paid, interest at eight per cent per annum should be paid every six months. Apparently this was never done; at least Reid (i, 58) says, "they were cheated out of that, and whatever their father left." This considerable amount was no doubt meant to compensate for the Royalist plundering.

One of the assessors, White, was also an old man, in his 69th year when the Assembly met. He was subject to gout, and was absent in February, 1643–4, at the same time as Twisse. A year later, on 27 March, 1645, he was again visited. Burges, White's brother-in-law,

was some fifteen years younger; the indifferent health of the other officials laid upon him an extra share in the work of presiding, in which capacity Baillie describes him (ii, 102) as "a very active and sharp man."

Another ten members were ill enough to be visited, at some time or other,—Bond, Burroughes, Corbet (of Norfolk), Gataker, Gouge, Harris, Hoyle, Marshall, Wilkinson, and Young. Bond, who was visited on 5 January, 1647–8, had been given leave on 15 July, 1645, to take a journey to the waters for his health." This could hardly have been Bath, which was then still in Royalist hands; it might have been Cheltenham, or perhaps more likely only Epsom; he was back at the meetings by 6 August. Gataker was excused by the Commons from preaching on 3 July, 1643, and Heyrick was excused from praying with Parliament on 5 April, 1644; Sedgwick was excused from the Assembly, 16 April, 1646, but was back a month later; and Reynolds was excused from attendance on 1 May, 1646, and does not seem to have been back before 9 July. All these were on account of sickness.

The other reasons for which leave of absence was granted are interesting. Special tasks of work and personal reasons are almost equally frequent. Brownrigg excused himself at the beginning (12 July, 1643), because of his duties as Vice-chancellor at Oxford; really, of course, because of the king's proclamation against the Assembly. Cheynell, at the request of the Lord General (7 May, 1644) obtained leave to act as his chaplain. The Assembly carefully stated that they granted this "so much as in them lies," and similar phrases were used for some time; but later on the Assembly took upon itself full responsibility for such action. Spurstowe was excused (1 May, 1646) "for a short time, to preach at Cambridge." Strickland had leave (7 May, 1646) by order of the Commons, to go to Salisbury, where, indeed, he held the vicarage of St. Edmund's. Conant also had leave for the same reason. On 5 March, 1646–7, Bond, who had been lecturer in Exeter, was excused "upon the desire of the gentlemen of the county, for his assistance in the county of Devon, for the settling of the government." Shaw (ii, 374) says that the presbyterial organisation in Devon dated "probably from 1649"; but a letter, almost certainly from John Waddon, M.P. for Plymouth, and a Presbyterian, of 3 January, 1647–8 (*Presb. Hist. Soc. Journ.*, vi, 268) suggests that the time was then ripe for its formation; so that Bond's help was doubtless effective.

Goodwin obtained leave under interesting circumstances (22 September, 1645); the Assembly had told the Dissenting Brethren "to bring in the whole frame of their judgments concerning church govern-

ment in a body, with their grounds and reasons," "which work hath been long expected and earnestly desired by the Assembly"; Goodwin asked for leave of absence to accomplish this. The Assembly had evidently been getting impatient; they gave him leave, but said that the work must be finished in a fortnight.

The personal reasons for absence were naturally varied, and their description is often vague. Price desired (31 May, 1644) to go upon "an urgent occasion that concerns my subsistence"; it appears that this was "beyond the seas." White got leave (22 July, 1644) to "go down to the country to settle his affairs there," probably after the plundering of his rectory by the Royalists. Temple had three or four days' leave (6 August 1645, and 1 May, 1646) "upon special occasions," possibly as member of the Committee on Accommodation. Carter desired (25 May, 1646) "that his wife's being sick might be admitted as his excuse for absence and late coming since the beginning of February." Another application has a similar pathetic strain; Ley, who had been continuously busy with the work of examination, applied for leave for a month (1 May, 1646) "to visit his people in Cheshire, after four years' absence." Though he was born in Warwick, his family was a Cheshire one.

Scudder obtained leave (12 May, 1647), as did Cheynell (10 December, 1645) and Gipps (16 April, 1646); all these were to "go into the country." But no reason is given; it may have been for business, or for health. Calamy had leave for a fortnight (6 August, 1645), no purpose being named, but probably in connection with Matthew Hopkins' witch-finding activities, where, as Baxter says (*Certainty of the World of Spirits*), he "went along with the judges in the circuit to hear their confessions, and see that there were no fraud or wrong done them." This, in the state of knowledge (or ignorance) of those days, did not prevent there being many executions.

When it became evident that the meetings of Assembly would be protracted, some arrangement had to be come to about members from the distant counties. The difficulty was double; they could not do their pastoral work save by a curate, and the daily four shillings (even had it been regularly paid) was of course not maintenance, but a recompense for the extra cost of their residence in London. The Assembly called the attention of Parliament to the difficulties, and from time to time it suggested the name of a member for some living in or near London. Byfield the scribe was recommended (10 November, 1643) for St. Andrew's Undershaft; nothing came of this, but he was later appointed

rector of Fulham. Prophet, from Marlborough, Wilts, was recommended (11 and 25 September, 1645) for Abinger, Surrey; this was not granted, but he is said to have had the living of Edmonton, Middlesex (*Reid,* ii, 124); he was, however, still at St. Peter's, Marlborough, in 1658 (*Shaw,* ii, 597). Simpson was recommended by the Committee of Plundered Ministers (13 January, 1646–7) to be afternoon preacher at Somerset House; the Assembly referred this to a committee, whose report was the subject of debate on two days, possibly because they had doubts about appointing so staunch an Independent. On 16 February, the report was respited "by reason of his necessary absence," and on 2 March it was again respited "till he be so well as to come to the Assembly," when a day for its discussion was to be fixed. By a vote of 18 to 15 the Divines declined to name a committee which should give the parliamentary committee the reasons for the delay,—an action whose explanation is not easily conjectured.

Peter Smith, whose living was Barkway, in the extreme northwest of Hertfordshire, was suggested (25 September, 1645) for Croydon, "being so near the city," "if he shall see fit to accept it." Apparently he did not, for Corbet (of Norfolk) was approved for this living (17 June, 1647), and Smith was appointed (9 December, 1647) to Barley, Herts, a neighbouring parish to Barkway (*Shaw,* ii, 348). Taylor was nominated (13 November, 1646) to the Committee of Plundered Ministers for preacher at Canterbury Cathedral, and was appointed; his living, Yalding, was a Kentish one, but not near Canterbury. Caryl, resident preacher at Lincoln's Inn, was approved (16 April, 1645), by request of the parishioners, for St. Magnus. Crosse, a fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, was recommended (13 May, 1647) for some sequestration; he had apparently not been attending the meetings of Assembly, so that they were doubtful about approving him; they said that as he was a member they desired his presence, "and then they shall speak with him about the business."

The Assembly asked (18 March, 1645–6) for Bushey, Herts, for Good, who was from Denton, Norfolk, and gave a certificate for him on 13 April, "as for other members of the Assembly"; he was appointed on 9 April by the Committee of Plundered Ministers (*Urwin,* p. 396). Hill was recommended (17 February, 1644–5) for Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and on 11 April for Master of Trinity College, to which he removed. Ley was approved (2 September, 1646) for Astbury, Cheshire, but not placed there till 22 April, 1647.

On the other hand, when the people of Nottingham asked for Whitaker, the Commons consulted the Assembly (28 October, 1644) which naturally decided, in the case of so active a member, "that Mr. Whitaker shall be continued here," he having moved from Stretton, Rutland, to St. Mary Magdalene, Bermondsay.

A few miscellaneous personal matters may be recorded, such as Burges' remarkable feat in reading over the whole of the Larger Catechism at the session of 20 October, 1647. Wilkinson, given the living of St. Faith's, was forced to live in a house belonging to St. Paul's at £10 rent; he petitioned the Lords to remit it, for "it is a great rent to pay"; they referred it to the Commons (21 August, 1644), who on 7 September, ordered that this should be allowed him, but "defalked out of the allowance due to him for his service in the Assembly"; on the other hand, the rents from the parish payable to the Dean and Chapter were to be "added to his living for his better maintenance and support," a seemingly complicated arrangement.

After Palmer's death the Assembly asked that his papers which concern the Assembly be sought for (12 October, 1647); they were "papers for ordination," and Mitchell and Struthers suggest that what was wanted was *"The Answer to the Reasons of the Dissenting Brethern against the Propositions concerning Ordination,"* which was published early in 1648.

On 15 August, there is a mysterious entry about Michaelthwaite; the scribe was instructed to write "to let him know that his summons was not intended to do him any prejudice"; there is no record of his having been present for five months before that time, nor is there any indication in the minutes of his presence thereafter; so, although Neal marks him as "constantly attending," the summons was probably to attend; he was an elderly man, nearly 70, and his living was in Yorkshire, and he does not seem to have been nominated for any nearer one.

Gataker, though unable from advancing age to continue active in the Assembly, was still writing books, of which he presented copies to his fellow members, and received their thanks. On 14 April, 1646, he presented *A Mistake or Misconstruction removed,* against the Antinomians in general and Saltmarsh in particular; Saltmarsh replied with *Shadows flying away,* to which Gataker rejoined in *Shadows without Substance; or, Pretended New Light,* and presented it to the Assembly on 14 September.

Taylor informed the Assembly (2 October, 1643) of a book against him, dealing with the question of the acceptability to God of imperfect

good works. No action was taken. It has not been possible to identify the book.

Some members had difficulty about the Solemn League and Covenant. We have already dealt with Burges' difficulties, and his honourable stand and equally honourable withdrawal. Lance simply ceased from attending, but his opposition went the length of dissuading his parishioners at Harrow from taking it. Jackson desired to take it with a protest that he did not mean it as explained by Salloway (19 October, 1643), but the nature of that explanation, or of his difficulty about it, is not stated. Lightfoot says that Jackson was dissuading his parishioners at Gray's Inn from taking it.

There are some items concerning others than the Divines. The Earls of Manchester, of Essex, and of Warwick were technically members of the Assembly, and dealt with it in regard to matters of chaplaincies and heads of colleges. When Burges returned from seeing the Earl of Manchester at Cambridge (12 April, 1644), he brought a request for the continuation of their prayers, and reported the Earl's desire "to be very heartily commended to you all."

When the Earl of Warwick came to the Assembly (2 October, 1644) he was welcomed by the prolocutor. "We have cause to bless God, who hath been so gracious unto you, and we see a blessed return for our prayers. We desire that your Lordship would still be encouraged to go on." The Earl said, "I bless God that hath put it into your hearts to pray, and I thank you that you have assisted me."

The executors of the Earl of Essex gave the Assembly a formal invitation to attend his funeral (21 October, 1646). Vines preached the funeral sermon; "Such as were for reformation and groaned under pressure in religion he took by the hand, and they him. Such as were patriots, and would stand up for common liberties, he took by the hand, and they him. And so he became the bond or knot of both, as the axletree of the world, upon which both the poles do move."

The Prince Elector Palatine received permission from Parliament on 24 October, 1644, to be present at the Assembly and hear the debates. He came accordingly on the 28th. The prolocutor said that they were much honoured by his presence, and were assured of his good affection, and that of his brothers, to the cause. They well knew in England the curse of war; "the Lord, who made the world by His word, can in His due time cause the distempers of Germany to be cured; He is the God of peace." The Prince acknowledged the privilege of being present. Burges then made a long oration, referring to the Prince as "well deserv-

ing of all the Christian world, to say nothing of his illustrious ancestors, a constant line and succession (twenty-six or twenty-seven of them) who have inherited the honour, since the restitution of the family by the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa." The Prince, he reminded them, was descended from Charlemagne, and though at present there was a cloud upon his glory, "the hand of heaven to humble you and do you good," yet they held hopes of his restitution, and that he might be an instrument of promoting the cause. "It is true that some unhappiness hath befallen some near in blood to you, and we doubt not that it is your great grief." He recalled "the great piety and religious zeal" of his predecessor, and "that excellent confession penned with his own hand." It was a great joy that the Elector was walking in the steps of his ancestors, and he might "be sure of the prayers of this Assembly in public and private."

On 23 May, 1644, at the request of Lady Fairfax, the Assembly prayed for Sir Thomas Fairfax, who was "very sick and weak"; he was at that time with the army besieging York. On 3 August, 1647, the petition which the Assembly presented to both Houses, to the Lord Mayor, and to some others, was presented by Nye to Sir Thomas, while he was waiting with the army at Hounslow Heath. He replied two days later that "it shall ever be acceptable to him to endeavour anything that shall be acceptable to the Assembly," and that he "desires their constant prayers in perfecting of all things that may tend to peace."

Military commanders sometimes wanted other things from the Assembly than their prayers. On 7 May, 1644, there was "a motion about Sir William Brereton, for the furthering of subscriptions for him," but there is no record of action taken. A letter from him came again on 28 June, but again nothing further is recorded; possibly the Divines felt that this was beyond the sphere delimited for them by Parliament. On 23 September, a letter from him, addressed to Marshall and Calamy, was after some debate read to the Assembly.

At Dury's request (4 December, 1645) Rivet was given a certificate clearing him of the charge that he had complained to the Assembly against Amyraut. The latter, a kindly man, willing to find a theological *via media,* had issued in 1644 a dissertation *"De gratia universali,"* which Rivet, an orthodox Calvinist, criticised in a pamphlet in 1648.

A letter from Wolfgang Meyer of Basle was read (13 November, 1644) concerning his son, who had come over with Sir Oliver Fleming, "with promises from him of a place in Trinity College," his father's

old college. The Assembly did not see its way to take action, and *Alumni Cantabrigienses* does not shew any trace of his being admitted.

Batchelor came under censure in his capacity as licenser of the press; this has already been referred to in regard to Tombes' book. Gouge called attention (25 December, 1645) to this, and the Assembly appointed a committee to memorialise the Commons. No further record appears in the minutes. Gouge again called attention (9 February, 1645–6) to Batchelor's having licensed a book by Dr. Crompton.

On 4 December, 1644, copies of Gulielmus Apollonii's book was presented to the members. Its long title explains its importance: *Consideratio quorundam Controversiarum ad Regimen Ecclesiae Dei spectantium, quae in Angliae Regno hodie agitantur. Ex Mandato & Jussu Classis Walachrianae conscripta; a Gulielmo Apollonii Verbi Dei apud Middleburgenses Mihistro. Et ab Ecclesiis Walachris ad Ecclesiarum Sensum & Consensum judicandum transmissa ad Synodum Londinensem, 16 Octobris Anni 1644.* Next year (29 August, 1645) Apollonii being in England, the Assembly took the opportunity of thanking him personally; the date (10 September) was fixed for him to come, but the minutes bear no record of this interesting occasion.

Dury had been appointed a member of the Assembly on 2 November, 1643. He had not come, being so fully engaged in his endeavours to bring the Protestants of the Continent, Lutheran and Reformed, together. His membership presented difficulties, and Baillie evidently did not desire his presence. He writes (19 April, 1644), "That any of the Assembly has written for Mr. Dury, it's more than I know; that the Synod did never write for him, or any man else, I know assuredly, for similar actions exceeds their power. His letter to the Synod I heard read with no great regard, for it favoured of somewhat. If he be pleased to come over to Oxford, he may resolve to be taken while he lives by all of us for a malignant; and if he should come to us with the least tincture of episcopacy or liturgic learning, he would not be welcome to any I know. As you love the man, persuade him to stay at this time where he is; he cannot be so well or honourably employed anywhere I know" (ii, 166). Whether this advice reached or influenced Dury is not certain, but he did not take his seat in the Assembly till 12 August, 1645.

Chapter XIX

MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS

There are a number of items, some of them of considerable interest, which do not fall within the scope of the other chapters, but which need mention for the sake of completeness of the picture.

The printing of the Bible was not an easy problem. On 27 May, 1644, the Stationers' Company petitioned the Assembly in reference to the printing and licensing of the New Testament. On the 31st, the committee to which it had been referred reported that "the case, so far as concerns the great corruption of printing, especially of the Bible, and the licensing of unwarranted books, is one part of the reformation desired in printing." The matter was recommitted for a representation to Parliament to be drafted. Meanwhile three members were to go to the Commons, and ask for "a stop of the Bibles for the present," calling their attention to "the great slander that is put upon the Church of Scotland in saying that it is printed in Scotland, which wrong the Commissioners from Scotland do complain of." The Commons instructed their Committee for Printing to take some course for the seizing and suppressing of all those Bibles of the impressions beyond the seas, and to devise an effectual method of preventing their importation in future. They also asked the Divines to continue their consideration of the subject and report to them. On 10 July, 1644, two men, Tooley and Hicks, were to be brought before the Lords for contempt of the ordinance of Parliament "in selling and venting Bibles printed beyond the seas, wherein are many erroneous faults in the printing."

On 16 October, 1644, the printing of Bibles again "cost some discussion." "They," that is either Parliament, or the Stationers, were "dealing with Barker," that is with his assigns, the king's printers, who had an official monopoly of Bible printing. Palmer suggested that they should secure from them that the Bibles would be sold at a reasonable price; but the Assembly thought it better that Parliament should intervene, and told its committee to report to the parliamentary one. They were also to "consider of the abuses suggested, in seizing upon Bibles not complained of, and not found faulty." These were doubtless copies printed outside England, imported, and sold at less price than the English-printed ones. It must be remembered that Bibles printed in Scotland, as well as on the Continent, might be imported.

The British and Foreign Bible Society have five editions printed abroad, some years after the date given on the title-page, with the imprint "Barker and Assignes of Bill, London, 1638." These have numerous errors. Examples are Gen. xxxvii: 2, "Belial" for "Bilhah"; Isa. i: 6, "purifying" for "putrefying"; Luke xix: 29, "ten" for "two"; Num. xxv: 18, "wives" for "wiles"; II. Sam. xxiii: 20, "lions like men" for "lion-like men"; Ezek. v: 11, "piety" for pity"; Luke vii: 47, 'forgotton" for "forgiven"; Isa. xlix: 22, "their sons" for "thy sons"; I. Tim. ii: 9, "shamefulness" for "shamefastness." Baillie, in his *Operis Historici et Chronologici Libri Duo,* says of these books that seven hundred thousand of them had been issued, "to the great harm of our churches." He declares that they "bubble over with many hundreds of most careless mistakes, and carry on their title-page the most offensive lie"; this refers to the false imprint.

On 27 March, 1645, a petition concerning Bibles was brought in; it referred to the suppressing of non-official copies. The report on 10 April shewed that the Commons had given the Stationers Company authority to seize upon two foreign-printed editions "with many gross corruptions," and the complaint was that they were seizing also on correct copies. The committee asked the Assembly to consider how a supply of reasonably cheap Bibles could be obtained. The committee was told to report these things to the Commons, and also (a sharp blow at the king's printers) to inform them "that there are also many faults in the Bibles printed in London." They were to plead for such a course as will secure accurate and cheap Bibles. On 26 May, the committee was instructed to carry this out, but the Commons Journals have no record of it. The subject came up again on 15 August, and on the 20th the Commons ordered an ordinance to be prepared that no foreign-printed Bibles should be on sale unless approved by the Assembly, or such as they should appoint. On 14 October, the Assembly instructed its committee to meet once a week to examine copies.

But this did not help to make Bibles any cheaper. On 12 December, 1645, Nye said, "There is a kind of necessity that something should be done." The Stationers Company was trying to obtain an ordinance for monopoly. "If it pass that any party have power solely to print these books, they will put what rates they please." Ley reported for his committee "their inability for the present to set down the prices of the Bibles." They were told to meet again. A suggestion that Parliament should again be approached was rejected by 22 to 14. Next week they were instructed to give the matter further consideration. On 22 Jan-

uary, 1645–6, Gillespie moved for the omission of the "St." from the titles of the New Testament books. This was, of course, already customary in referring to the titles of churches, both in popular use and in print; and the omission was made in the list of books in the Confession of Faith.

The Stationers did not, apparently, obtain their monopoly, for Nye and Coleman had got in touch with some printers who quoted prices, and on 6 February, they were told to bring these men along on the 11th. But there was a hitch; they did not come. Nye and Coleman were given till the 16th to produce them; otherwise the Assembly would go on to consider an offer made by the Stationers. On the 17th, an offer was reported from Mr. Bentley. He had a printing house in Finsbury; Plomer says that no other printer in London would undertake this job. And little wonder, for the Stationers Company issued an order that no journeyman working for Bentley should ever have any benefit from the funds of the Company. Hills and Field claimed to have the exclusive right as successors to Barker and Assigns. In November 1652, Bentley was still fighting the case, and issued a broadside asserting his right to print the Bible. In it he offered Bibles with marginal notes, better printed and more correct than any other, at 2s. (instead of 4s. 6d.), and said that he had already finished five editions. Still later, in 1659, William Kilburne wrote a pamphlet on *Dangerous errors in several late printed Bibles,* which was "Printed at Finsbury," and was propaganda for Bentley's editions.

The Assembly resolved to send Bentley's offer and that of the Stationers to Parliament; the Universities were also suggested to be included at the Stationers' rates. Eight members, including Burges (who was prolocutor *pro tem.*), and Ley, the chairman of the printing committee, entered their dissent when the inclusion of the Stationers and the Universities was negatived. Baillie's account (ii, 349) is, "The printing of the Bibles fashed us much before we could fall on the way to get them well printed for eight groats in 8vo with the marginal quotations, and for six or seven groats at most in 12mo unbound. This we hope will encourage poor people to buy Bibles." It will be noted that Bentley's prices were even below those named by Baillie. On 5 March, 1645–6, a petition from Mrs. Barker was presented but no further reference occurs.

The Assembly took considerable interest in the printing of the Septuagint. The details, unfortunately imperfect and obscure, are as follows. On 3 January, 1644–5, the Assembly brought to the Commons

a petition from "the Company of Merchant Booksellers in London" about printing the Septuagint from the Codex Alexandrinus in the King's Library, under the supervision of Patrick Young, or Junius, the Librarian. A committee with Selden as convener was appointed to confer with Young as to its printing, and as to maintenance for him. On 22 March, this was ordered to report "peremptorily" on the 29th, but apparently did not do so. On 4 July, 1645, the matter was transferred to the Grand Committee for Religion, and on the 9th by its recommendation an allowance of £400 per ann. was granted to Young "for an encouragement to him for his pains in setting forth this work, and to do other services for the good of the church." Towards this sum he was to receive the revenue of the Treasurer of St. Paul's, but it does not appear whether he was to do the work. Apparently this arrangement was not satisfactory, for on 5 March, 1645–6, the Merchant Booksellers again approached the Assembly, which again recommended it to Parliament. At the moment the Commons were fully occupied with the ordinance for church government, and no further reference occurs in the Journal. Whitelocke (p. 259) records on 30 June, 1647, that Young "with the assistance of Selden and myself undertook the printing of the Septuagint," but the Commons Journal has no reference. On 1 December, 1647, "the Committee for Mr. Young's business to move the House of Commons concerning him have power to move the said House when they shall see cause. It was resolved, by 11 to 14 negative, the former order concerning Mr. Young shall stand." There is no record of their approaching the Commons, but on 27 December, upon a petition from Young himself, that House commuted the pension for a sum of £2000, to which the Lords agreed next day. But after all, Young did not carry out the work; He died on 7 September, 1652, and it was over half a century before the text of the Codex Alexandrinus was printed.

The Divines were consulted about the printing of other books. On 16 March, 1646–7, the Lords sent an order about the translation of Luther's *Last Discourses,* a committee was appointed with Palmer as chairman. On 16 April, parts of the translation were distributed to members to read and to report upon them on the 22nd. As the result the Assembly reported to the Lords on that day that most of the material was already extant in his known works, and that other passages were "contrary to gravity and modesty," so that they should not be published. They were, however, printed and issued in 1651.

The Divines also concerned themselves with the *Dutch Annotations.* This was a commentary upon the Bible, "ordered and appointed by the Synod of Dort, 1618"; it had been translated by Theodore Haak, a native of the Palatinate, in two volumes folio. On 16 September, 1645, a complaint was made that they contained some things "against the Covenant and the votes of the Assembly." On the 22nd, the Stationers asked for a speedy report about them, and promised to hold up the sale for a day. On the 25th, Ley "gave an account of the antidote prepared against the particulars complained of in the Annotations of the Bible." No further reference occurs. An addition in 1657 was dedicated to Cromwell; and when Parliament appointed divines, most, but not all, of whom were members of the Assembly, to prepare what came to be known as the *Assembly's Annotations,* this work and that of Diodati were recommended to them as models. The *Assembly's Annotations* have been described as "very similar in its plan and character" to the Dutch ones.

Various books and pamphlets were presented to the Divines. The funeral sermon by Marshall on Pym was the first; later there came, on 24 January, 1643–4, "a book from the Scottish Commissioners, touching their own government." This was distributed in the meeting of the committee in the afternoon, but the other members received their copies next day, and the Commissioners were duly thanked. On Friday, 7 March, 1644–5, a book was presented; it was to be considered on Monday when the members had read it. No hint is given as to its title or subject. On the Monday, after a debate, it was resolved, "Mr. Young and Mr. Calamy to give notice to Mr. Hartlib that it will not be fit for this Assembly to meddle in such a business. It may be to their prejudice, and therefore to let the minister know from whom he received this letter that this Assembly doth take notice of their condition, and will commend it to God; and doubt not that God will direct them, as He hath done already in that answer they have given and now presented."

On 2 March, 1645–6, Edward Leigh, the M.P., was thanked for his dedication of his "Critica Sacra" to the Assembly, and for the pains he had taken in the work. It was a series of observations on the Greek words used in the New Testament.

Members of the Assembly sometimes presented copies of their works to their fellow members. Thanks were given to Marshall on 9 April, 1646, in respect of his book against Tombes; on 30 July to Gillespie for *Aaron's Rod Blossoming;* and on 14 September, to Gataker for his *Shadows without Substance,* against Saltmarsh.

On three occasions at least the Assembly was feasted by the City of London. The first was on 18 January, 1643–4, at the thanksgiving for the discovery of various plots, especially that of Brooke, and one which was still being unravelled, that of Ogle. Alderman Fowke had come on 15 January, at the head of a deputation from the City; he "made a speech at large, wherein he mentioned the goodness of God in detection of the last and other plots, the sincere affection of the City to Parliament, and that the City had invited both Houses to dinner" on Thursday the 18th at Merchant Taylors' Hall, and now invited the Assembly also. "The prolocutor answered him at large"; but the importance of the occasion was such that, at Burges' suggestion, a "hearty acceptance" was also sent in writing. The Divines, rather unaccustomed to such occasions, and uncertain as to their exact standing, discussed procedure on the Wednesday, and took the safe decision "to conform ourselves to the manner of the Parliament." Accordingly they went to Christ Church in the morning, where were both Houses, "divers of the chiefest commanders," the City Corporation, and "a most vast congregation." Marshall preached on I Chron. xii: 38–40, the account of all Israel making David king and holding a great feast. Unity was a great part of his theme; he said, "I beseech you, Honourable Lords and Nobles and Commons, you reverend Divines, you valiant soldiers, you worthy citizens; I know you cannot in all things be of one mind. Let confusion and division belong to them that build Babel, let there be no noise heard at the rearing of the Lord's temple." Baillie and Whitelocke tell with graphic detail of the subsequent proceedings,—the procession from Christ Church to the Hall. Vicars (*God's Ark,* p. 126) tells of "all the regiments of the London Trained Bands, standing in complete posture, from Christ Church to the Merchant Taylors' Hall, as two walls between which they passed without press or disturbance." First went the City Councillors in their gowns, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen in scarlet on horseback bringing up their rear; then the Lords and military commanders, the Commons, and the Divines. The Scots should have gone between the Commons and the Divines, but they were too modest; they "stole away to their coach," but it could not get through the huge crowd; so "with great difficulty" they went on foot. There was a bonfire of superstitious pictures and "trinkets" at the site of Cheapside Cross, whose appropriateness was the large part which had been taken by the Jesuits in the frustrated plots. Marshall had referred to Jesuits, friars, and priests in his sermon.

The feast, says Baillie (ii, 134), was valued at £4000, "yet had no dessert, nor music but drums and trumpets." In the Hall were four tables, the Lord Mayor at the head of the principal one; in an upper room two long tables for the Divines, the prolocutor and the Scots at the head of one. The Divines, when the feast was ending, sent down a message that "as we had begun at the church with a sermon, so we might conclude at the Hall with a Psalm." The Divines went down, and the Psalm was sung, Burges "reading the line" in the absence of books, probably because his voice was stronger than the aged prolocutor's. Baillie gives an account of the numerous mutual toasts which were drunk, but records that "there was no excess in any we heard of."

The second occasion was on 19 June, 1645, when the Houses and the Assembly were invited (17 June) to "a short dinner" at a place near Christ Church where again the sermon was preached.

The third feast was on Thursday, 2 April, 1646, at Grocers' Hall. On 21 March, the Commons had ordered a thanksgiving for the successes of Fairfax in the West, and had asked Caryl to preach at Christ Church. On 26 March, they invited the City, which accepted on the 27th, and that same day sent a message to the Assembly by Alderman Fowke. Edgehill, as well as the West, had been fought. The Houses and the City, he told the Assembly, both desired peace, a holy and just peace, "and the only way is justice—to give to God his due and to men their due." The invitation to the thanksgiving had been welcome; they "cannot but expect good cheer, and shall find it to be like the manna," and an occasion for a right understanding. "It is the desire of the City of London to meet this reverend Assembly at Christ Church, and enjoy afterwards your company at dinner." The prolocutor thanked them for the honour, which they gratefully accepted. He welcomed their desire that God might have His due on this occasion; "it is our part to promote it with all due means." "God hath made that honoured City great instruments"; "as for peace, truth and unity, it hath been our care"; "we are, as you are, labouring in our spheres, as you in yours"; "in these we shall continue till God . . ."—give us success, no doubt was the unrecorded conclusion of the sentence.

We have no picture by Baillie of this feast, which was of course no such novelty to him as the first; the whole tone of the day seems to have been less stately and exuberant than on the former occasion; three years of hard struggle had intervened.

The Divines kept a watchful eye on the opinions circulated about them in the City, which was in the main, of course, Presbyterian. In

November, 1643, Calamy reported that there were hostile murmurs; on 1 December, Seaman said "it is reported in the City that we petitioned for the removing of our brethren out of the Assembly." On 19 February, 1643–4, Burges produced a letter from Hertfordshire; and Wincop related that in that district there was opposition to the baptising of children, that the sacraments were called "carnal ordinances," and that prayers were being offered "against all authority." Burges and Wincop were ordered to communicate this to the House of Lords. The sequel is related in the chapter on "Sectaries and Heretics."

On 12 April, 1644, Hugh Peters came with a message from "many well affected" in all the wards of the City of London. It "cost some debate whether he should be admitted," but he was so. The message was connected with the decision of Parliament to draw together all the forces south of Trent, Aylesbury being the rendezvous. So three things were asked by the petition: 1, that the Divines in their sermons next Sunday would urge men to join up, "as Englishmen and Christians"; 2, that they would send some Divines to the Committee of both Houses, meeting that day, to intimate their concurrence; and 3, that some of them would go as chaplains, or at least provide ministers for the army. Peters mentioned, as a stimulus, that "some aldermen do mean in person to go forth."

Marshall cautiously said that these were important things, which they should lay to heart, and that they were thankful for the "forwardness of the citizens"; and he left it in that vague way. Burges tackled the problem directly; they could "very willingly assent" to the first request; for the second he doubted whether they should do so, unless invited by one of the Houses; for the third, they had no authority to send their members, and they actually needed the return of some who were away. It was all very well to urge them to lay aside all and go out and save the kingdom; but, as in Nehemiah's time they fought with one hand and did their work with the other, it was their task to go on with the work. Marshall then repeated Burges' points, in phrases but little different, adding that, if ordered by Parliament, they would be willing to lay down their lives. Nye suggested that they must either accept or reject the message, and must either send a reply by Peters or send some of their own members, "though this party that sent it bear no title" (which had evidently been the cause why they hesitated to admit Peters). Parliament had enjoined their work, "yet they do not forbid us to be civil" (i.e. to do our duty as citizens). If they did nothing in the first request, they would be refusing it; they might at least send

thanks for the second suggestion; and, for the third, he thought that "some few members might be spared." (This sounds as though there might have been a tone of sarcasm in it.) Whatever message was sent, "let them make it as full as may be to their hearts' desire." Then came up the question of the standing of the deputation; Burges said, "this is not the City," and observed that even to official messages from the City that did not send their members to reply. Sir Benjamin Rudyard asked quite bluntly to whom they were to send any deputation.

Peters was then called in; the prolocutor thanked him, and said that they had cause to take comfort in the message, "observing how the hearts of the children of Israel were disposed on one side, and how the hearts of the Philistines on the other side." He added that they would be "in all the particulars careful to do what shall be our duty." A very judicious reply, indicating the determination of the Assembly not to be swayed by popular and unofficial pressure.

On 28 December, 1643, a man brought Lightfoot some copies of a book from Amsterdam, by a Separatist who pled that the Assembly was bound in conscience to tolerate all sects. Seaman, Burges, and Byfield looked through the books; then it was suggested that they should be read; it was "very much opposed by the Independent party, and it cost a great deal of agitation, and a little heat; and, after all, it was not read." The Dissenting Brethren had to be very careful not to seem to countenance a toleration of the wilder sectaries; and it looks as though they considered this book to be dangerously wide in its advocacy of toleration.

On 5 January, 1643–4, there was a petition from a daughter of Dr. Fulke, who had reprinted her father's book against the Rhemists. She desired the Assembly to ask Parliament to order every parish in the kingdom to buy a copy. "But this was thought not fit for us to meddle withal"; so two members were commissioned to "give her a fair answer." Doubtless this diplomatic course seemed wise in dealing with so strange a request.

The book *A Cool Conference* was referred to by Burges on 29 April, 1644, and a committee appointed to recommend steps "for the vindication of the honour of the Commissioners of the Church of Scotland, and of this Assembly, which hath in mind so much benefit by their pains and presence amongst us." This was the opening of the pamphlet controversy about the Dissenting Brethren's *Apologetical Narration.* On 6 May, the committee was instructed to consider also the book (by John Goodwin) *M.S. to A.S.*

On 29 May, 1644, a letter came from Guernsey, which the Assembly passed on to the House of Commons. This had to do with the case of Picot, related elsewhere.

On 20 October, 1643, the question of ministers who were prisoners with the Royalist forces was mooted, and it was suggested that they might ask the Commons and the Lord General to arrange an exchange. The men were Ashton, Allen, Candlish, and Thomas in Bridgwater, Nevill in Lichfield, Simonds in Bristol, and Glendall and Page in places not named. On 30 April, 1644, the Lord General wrote about an offer he had had from the Royalists for exchange of prisoners. The Divines thanked him, and reminded him that some of the men had been committed by vote of Parliament. He replied that "he thought fit to acquaint the Assembly, and now he had their answer, he would consult the Houses of Parliament. The list of proposed exchanges was as follows:

Dr. Beale for Mr. Hallett of Shaftesbury.
Dr. Holdsworth for Mr. Paul, Curate of Berkeley.
Dr. Heywood for Mr. Conditt, Parson of Bryan.
Dr. Marsh for Mr. Middlham, Vicar of Wolbury.
Dr. Sterne for Mr. Dennish, Vicar of Bridgewater.
Mr. Squire for Mr. Baynton of Much Beauchamp.
Dr. Layfield for Christian Moore of Bridgewater.
Mr. Sundling for Robert Maine, clerk, prisoner in Oxford.

Lightfoot comments that these divines from the West were "indeed worthy men, but of obscure rank and place"; the Assembly "did not think the exchange equal" nor the matter fit for the Assembly to meddle in." Their worthiness is undoubted; five of the eight can be identified with more or less certainty. Thomas Hallett was ejected from Shaftesbury in 1662 and was imprisoned next year for continuing to preach. Paul was probably John Paul ejected from St. James's, Bristol in 1662. Middlham was a member of the second Classis of Somerset in 1648, being then at Westbury, and he signed the Somerset *Attestation* in that year. John Devenish had a son who was ejected from Weston Zoyland in 1660. Robert Maine may be the man who, as minister of Puckington, was a member of the third Classis of Somerset.

On Saturday, 13 January, 1643–4, the Commons resolved to appoint a member of Assembly to conduct their opening devotions, and appointed St. John and Rous to inform the Divines. The Lords had made a similar request, by the mouth of Lord Wharton, on the 3rd, and had

suggested this course to the Commons. Baillie (ii, 130) gives us one of his interesting glimpses behind the scenes. "We [the Scots Commissioners] had so contrived it with my Lord Wharton that the Lords did petition the Assembly they might have one of the Divines to attend their House for a week, as it came about, to pray to God with them. Some days thereafter the Lower House petitioned for the same. Both their desires were gladly granted; for by this means the relics of the Service Book, which till then were every day used in both Houses, are at last banished."

The Commons' request had to be considered urgently on Monday morning; "Dr. Burges was sent *pro hac vice,* for the House of Commons stayed, and could not begin till one came; for they were debarred by an order that the House had made that the Speaker should pray no more." The Assembly decided the members should take duty for a week at a time, one in the Lords and one in the Commons, in the order in which they were named in the ordinance calling the Assembly. The very next day they had to substitute Gouge for Wilkinson, who "could not come, because of the unseasonableness of the weather." Later on the Assembly made definite appointments week by week. On 27 May, 1644, at the request of the Committee of Both Kingdoms for members to open its meetings with prayer, a list was made, with twenty names, the rota to be announced each Friday. This instruction was renewed, but as applying to all members, on 13 September. The first entry of names seems to be on 5 April, when the entry occurs "Mr. Wrathband and Mr. Burrowes for the Lords and Commons." Thereafter two names occur in the minutes for most Fridays (though not with complete regularity); on Friday, 7 June, we find "Mr. Lightfoot and Mr. Tisdale for the House of Lords and Commons, Mr. Herle for the Committee of Both Kingdoms, to pray with them." Thereafter (again with some exceptions) three names occur at the head of the minutes every Friday morning, usually with the words "to pray," but often without any appended explanation.

These appointments were necessarily elastic; men had not only Sunday preaching, but also week-day lectureships. In the Commons Journals the name of the chaplain is not recorded, but it is (with occasional omissions) in those of the Lords. Of 226 weeks where the information is available, the man appointed served the entire week in only 38 cases; Delmy did so five times, and Bridge thrice. On the other hand there were 42 weeks when the man appointed did not serve at all. A substitute was very frequent on Saturday; and two men seemed to be espe-

cially able and willing to fill this gap. Salloway officiated on no less than 72 Saturdays, and Corbet on 24; Marshall and Burges took five Saturdays each.

This praying with the Houses was not always a pleasing job. Lightfoot tells (p. 284) how on one occasion he was delayed by the Lords till past eleven o'clock, by which time the Assembly had been at work for two, or perhaps even three, hours.

On 21 May, 1644, Valentine, on the instigation of "some in the City," suggested that the Assembly might consider an ordinance for putting into execution the laws for Sabbath Observance, and a committee was appointed. It is rather puzzling that this should have been raised at that time, for as recently as 6 April the Lords and Commons had passed such an ordinance.

A minute, very disappointing in its lack of detail, occurs on 22 September, 1645. "A petition from one Mahomet, a Turk, was brought into the Assembly, and read. Because the Assembly cannot take cognisance of this business, Dr. Smith and Mr. Delmy are to answer according to their own discretion." Presumably, therefore, these two had brought the petition.

Another tantalising entry, of a matter which seems not to be very appropriate for the Assembly, is that on 11 February, 1644–5, a Mr. Blake petitioned about an invention of his for printing. This was reported to the Committee for Printing.

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